

VOLUME 4 NUMBERS 2 AND 3

NOVEMBER 1945

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

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UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET
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*Love, work and knowledge are the well-
springs of our life. They should also govern it.*

ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS



NEW YORK

qCb 841

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF
SEX-ECONOMY AND ORGONE-RESEARCH

is published by the
ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS
400 East 57 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00 *per year*

EDITOR'S ADDRESS: *Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe,*
401 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

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Press, Inc.

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ORGONE BIOPHYSICS, MECHANISTIC SCIENCE AND "ATOMIC" ENERGY

The position of orgone biophysics in our mechanistic civilization, in which the machine is more important than man, is difficult. Our laboratories have the task of developing the new realm of facts covered by the term orgone, and the task of following the lines leading from the realm of the emotions into that of biophysical processes. Biopsychiatry requires a basis in processes of strict natural science, that is, in *quantitatively* determinable processes; without this basis, it can no longer exist without degenerating into mysticism and chaotic ways of thinking. Our orgone-biophysical work brings us into contact with all kinds of specialists, physicians, physicists, biologists, etc., who are under the influence of mechanistic-metaphysical thinking and who have heard nothing of the orgone-biophysical facts in their training. Orgone biophysics must protect its field against misconceptions, it must develop its *own* methods and interpretations of processes, if it is to hold to the logical line leading from the realm of instinct biology to that of the orgone energy. In other words: *The emotions and plasmatic functions must be comprehended and made practically manageable within the realm of the objective natural sciences.*

The reactions of the mechanists and metaphysicists to this new work have undergone a change in the course of the past 10 years; it may be helpful to distinguish a few types among these reactions, in order to gain a preliminary orientation in the intercourse with the "outer world" of orgone biophysics:

Some 10 years ago, when the first facts of my natural-scientific theory were published, there was an uproar. Specialists went straight to the police and asked that my experiments be prohibited. Others declared that I was schizophrenic and spread the rumor in America that I was in a mental hospital in *Europe*. A latecomer in this group, a European director of public health, recently declared, on his return to Europe, that I had become psychotic in *America* and had been hospitalized there.

With this type of reaction one cannot enter into discussion; one can only protect oneself against it as well as possible.

A second type of reaction uses the technique of simply denying the existence of the new facts or of interpreting them away. According to this technique, the bions were "merely" the result of air infection; the orgone radiation of the bions was "non-existent" because it was not demonstrable at the radioscope; the rise of the bio-electric curve with pleasure sensations was "merely" a phantasy of mine (notwithstanding the fact that it was photographed); the temperature phenomena at the orgone accumulator were "merely" manifestations of heat convection.

With this reaction type one also cannot enter into discussion.

A third type, largely represented by officials with whom we have to deal in practical matters, declares the whole thing "impossible." One such official said in so many words he would not grant an application "no matter what proofs were submitted."

With this type one also cannot enter into discussion. One can only try to avoid it, but this is not easy when such an official has the decision on, say, patent applications.

A fourth type is at first very friendly and confirms the new facts. But as soon as it becomes clear to him how revolutionary these new facts are he withdraws, does not answer letters, etc.

It is difficult to find a correct attitude toward this type. On the one hand, one feels disinclined to swallow such insults as unanswered letters, on the other hand one does not want to lose contact with somebody who has seen and confirmed the facts.

Recently we have been meeting a fifth kind of reaction. It is that of specialists who do not conceal their amazement and their admiration of the new findings. They seem interested and willing to help. But they say that I don't know enough physics. They advise me to consult "authorities" in the field of physics to obtain a solid theoretical basis for my new findings. They refute my work hypothesis even though it has proved its usefulness by the very findings which they admire.

With this type of reaction one can enter into discussion, but only under certain conditions. First of all, the fact has to be recognized that *there are no authorities in my field of work*, simply because it is *fundamentally new*. I do not hesitate to admit that I have not mastered *mechanistic* physics as well as I might or should. But members of an allied science who would wish to help us should also realize that they can enter the field of orgone biophysics only as beginners. They must be willing not only to learn something new but also to accept the possibility that the discovery of the cosmic orgone energy may shake the foundation of their special picture of the physical world. Neither "censors" nor "authorities" can get us anywhere.

We have to admit that we cannot by ourselves work through the problems raised by the discovery of the cosmic energy. For such a task, we lack the comprehensive knowledge, the technical equipment and the financial means. Cooperation between orgone physics and other objective natural sciences, therefore, is indispensable. There should be free competition between the established electrophysical and mechanistic interpretation of the natural process and the functional energetic method of orgone physics. Such freedom of competition can only be to the advantage of all.

In my article, "Orgonotic pulsation" I tried, in the form of "Talks with an electrophysicist," to establish a new theoretical position. A friendly reader of this article pointed out that the opinions of the electrophysicist were wrong, that I had presented an erroneous picture of present-day physical knowledge. He thought I should not engage the electrical technicians in my discussion but the theoretical physicists. This reproach is not justified: The opinions of my electrophysicist were derived from my personal experience, they are the prevalent opinions of the average physicist and are included in the textbooks of physics.

In the second part of the "Talks with an electrophysicist" I had intended to enter upon *fundamental* problems of physics. The manuscript is finished, but I shall postpone publication. If we make a strict distinction between finding, method, work hypothesis and theory formation, it is well to present at first *only* the new findings. They provide ample material for discussion, for various kinds of interpretation, and for an objective argumentation between mechanistic electrophysics and functional orgone physics. When electrophysicists have made a sufficient number of serious attempts to fit the new facts into our world picture, it will be seen whether my functional interpretation is necessary and therefore justified. I can assure the

reader that I am not motivated by any striving for originality. I have discovered a sufficient number of new facts to feel myself free of any such false ambition; more than that, I shall be only too glad if the astronomists and physicists succeed in fitting the findings of orgone physics into the existing framework. My task will only be to watch and to see whether the theories of the physicists *incorporate the life process in their scientific theory or whether they leave it out of consideration*. It is clear that theories which continue to leave the life process—which is part of the natural process—in the realm of metaphysics, as did the theories of, say, Eddington or Jeans (I am referring to the world of *sensations and emotions*) cannot do justice to the facts. The basic plasmatic reactions of pleasure and anxiety were the point of departure for the discovery of the cosmic energy. They must, of necessity, find their place in that theory which has to unite the realms of the living and the non-living into one. It is clear, furthermore, that a theory also has to prove its usefulness by furthering, rather than hindering, the development of the experiments.

The basic question under discussion is whether the orgone energy is electricity or whether it represents a *primordial form of energy* of which electricity and magnetism are only specific functions.

Orgone biophysics contends that electromagnetism can neither explain nor cause living phenomena. It demonstrates the existence of a physical energy, the cosmic orgone, the specific characteristics of which fulfil the demands of functional biophysics.

That physical energy which governs the realm of the living must also be demonstrable in the realm of the non-living, if we postulate, as we must, the origin of life from non-living matter.

The characteristics of an energy are always deduced from the specific functions which are governed by it (free fall: energy

of acceleration; electric current: energy of potential difference; heat convection: energy of heat potential, etc.). Consequently, *the orgone energy must have specific characteristics which are expressed in the living functions*. Pulsation is a basic function of living matter; consequently, pulsation must also be a basic characteristic of the *physical* orgone. The attraction of weaker by stronger systems is another function of living matter; consequently, orgone energy must be characterized by the fact that the stronger system attracts the weaker system, *also in the non-living realm* (clearly demonstrable in the relationship of the sun to the planets). Another living function is symmetrical growth; consequently, the specific shape of organisms and organs must be explicable from *physical* laws of the orgone.

These are rigorous postulates. They must absolutely be fulfilled if one is to speak of a cosmic energy which *also* expresses itself as life energy. Living matter is restricted to the earth's crust; this fact also must find its logical explanation.

Summarizing, we can say that the specific life functions like pulsation, lumination, existence at the earth's crust, heat formation and symmetrical growth must derive in an understandable manner from the respective functions of the cosmic orgone.

I should like to add a few words about the relationship of the orgone to the "atomic bomb." The mechanists contend that they have tracked down atomic energy in an ultimate and practical way. There is no gainsaying the fact that mechanistic physics, in a practical way, has slain some hundred thousands of people with a single "atomic bomb." Whether or not it is a matter of *atomic* energy no one can say, if for no other reason because there is nobody who knows what an atom is. One might argue that the practical smashing of the atomic nucleus has, after all, been proven by the mass slaughter

achieved. To that argument one would have to say that practical results are very often achieved with the aid of erroneous theories; eclipses of the sun, for example, are correctly calculated and predicted on the basis of the Copernican theory of the world system, even though the Copernican theory of the revolution of the earth around a stationary sun is erroneous. All I wish to say with this is that all the noise of destruction should not keep one from thinking clearly. The work of this Institute will clearly show that the problem of primary *formation of matter* cannot be solved with the aid of the theory of electronics, but with the theory of the primordial orgone. It is characteristic of our times that everybody is wide awake to discoveries which lend themselves to mass slaughter of human beings but as if deaf and dumb toward a discovery which has made "atomic energy" accessible in its *natural* and *original* state. For seen from the standpoint of mechanistic terminology, orgone energy is nothing but "atomic" energy in its natural state. We have been working with this "atomic energy" for some 10 years, in the fields of medicine, biology and physics. The orgone energy has yielded some therapeutic results which are so incredible that I have not dared to publish them lest I appear as a charlatan.

I wish to declare publicly that orgone physics does not wish to be confused with that kind of natural science which celebrates its greatest triumphs in the discovery of ever more dreadful explosives. I wish to state, furthermore, that "atomic energy" in its natural state, that is, orgone, will never lend itself to the purposes of murder, and that, on the other hand, it has disclosed tremendous therapeutic possibilities. I do not believe that the mechanists will succeed in making their new explosive usable for medical and biological purposes. If for no other reason—as was the case with gunpowder and dynamite—because the development of energy in the process of smashing matter is far too rapid for any other use than that of killing. Orgone energy, on the other hand, is characterized by the *slowness* of its reactions. It is precisely this characteristic which makes it a *life-furthering* energy. It was also first discovered in living matter. If, against any expectation, I should ever discover any murderous potentiality of the orgone energy, I would keep the process secret. We shall have to learn to counteract the murderous form of the atomic energy with the life-furthering function of the orgone energy and thus render it harmless.

WILHELM REICH

EXPERIMENTAL DEMONSTRATION OF THE PHYSICAL ORGONE ENERGY

Preliminary Communication*

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.

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- VI. General conclusions concerning orgone energy which is not bound to formed matter

I. ORGANIZATION OF PLASMATIC MATTER FROM FREE ORGONE ENERGY.

In the following, I would like to report on an experimental result which owes its discovery to an "accident." It was one of those accidents which are wont to happen in the course of systematic experimental work and which, on closer examination, are shown to be logical results of the experimental thought and work process.

For several years, I had observed earth bion preparations which I kept alive by replenishing the water regularly. I noticed the development of small, rapidly moving living forms of the shape of a bean or of the head of a spermatozoon; in some preparations these appeared after a few months, in others only after years. It was possible clearly to observe the development of these living forms from strongly radiating and slowly pulsating bions. As we know, such living forms do not derive from the air. First, they are not found in air dust; second, they cannot be obtained by air infection; and third, their appearance in the *non-sterile* earth bion preparations only after months or years confirms their organi-

zation from the preparations themselves. Furthermore, autoclaved preparations kept under sterile conditions resulted in the same living forms.

In December, 1944, we acquired an apparatus for the quantitative measurement of fluorescence in fluids. The work with this apparatus was based on the following considerations:

Earlier experiments had shown that the orgone energy is capable of *luminating*. It was to be assumed that fluids with a higher organotic potency, that is, containing more orgone energy, would more strongly luminate than fluids with a weaker organotic potency. Correspondingly, the intensity of fluorescence in fluids could be regarded as an expression of lumination. As a working hypothesis, the degree of fluorescence was taken as the measure of organotic potency. These assumptions were fully confirmed in the course of the experiment and led to practical experimental results.

The fluorometric intensity, that is, the organotic potency, of the fluid which, for months or years, had contained earth bions, was much higher than that of ordinary water. We then set out to investigate

* Translated from the manuscript by the Editor.

changes in orgonotic potency as they occur under diverse conditions. We put earth bion water of known fluorometric intensity into sealed ampoules which we placed in different localities. Some ampoules we left for several weeks in the laboratory room itself, others in a small triple accumulator, others in the Xray room, still others in the open air or buried in the soil. Our intention was merely that of repeating the fluorometric measurements after some time. After three weeks we noticed that the ampoules which had been in the open air and in which the water had frozen *contained, after thawing, dense flakes*. The accident consisted in the fact that at the very moment when we were about to throw away these ampoules as "contaminated" I had the idea of examining these flakes microscopically. To my greatest surprise, these flakes—which had developed in an absolutely clear, carefully filtrated fluid free of particles—were revealed as very strongly radiating bionous particles. At a magnification of 3000x, contracting and expanding bions could be seen, forms with which we are quite familiar. We repeated the experiment of filtrating and freezing clear bion water until there was no longer any doubt that we were dealing with a *process in which free orgone energy in water, i.e., orgone energy not connected with bionous matter*, becomes organized into plasmatic living substance with all the criteria of life.

In the following, I shall limit myself to a presentation of the technique of this "Experiment XX" and of the established facts. For the time being, I shall refrain from discussing the theoretical framework in which these facts—which are of extreme importance—belong. These facts become comprehensible only if one examines them in the total context of the orgone-physical function; this will be done elsewhere. It must be pointed out here, however, what progress this experiment constitutes in the preparation of bions, that is, viable orgone energy vesicles. To summarize:

1. Between 1936 and 1945, bions were prepared exclusively from matter already organized (humus, grass, iron, sand, coal, etc.). The progress made by Experiment XX consists in the fact that now orgone energy vesicles, with all the criteria of living matter, can be obtained not from already organized matter, but from free orgone energy. This we may call *primary bion formation* in contradistinction to *secondary bion formation* from already organized matter. The significance of this distinction for the concept of biogenesis and for biochemical processes will be discussed elsewhere.

2. A further progress represented by Experiment XX consists in the fact that it provides a new and incontrovertible proof for the life-specific nature of the orgone energy.

II. THE PROCESS OF THE BION WATER EXPERIMENT XX.*

A. THE FLUOROPHOTOMETRIC DEMONSTRATION OF THE ORGONE IN EARTH BION WATER

1. Ordinary garden soil is put through a screen and thus cleaned of stones, clumps, etc. If water is added to the screened soil, microscopic examination fails to reveal any kind of motion.

2. We examine distilled water and tap water fluorophotometrically. If we take the fluorophotometric value of distilled water as 1, salt-containing, that is, spring or tap water, is shown to have a value of 3 to 4, measured in Forest Hills, N. Y. The fluorophotometric value of the fluid is its "*orgonotic potency*." The galvanometer connected with the fluorophotometer has a scale with 100 equal divisions. *The orgonotic potency of the fluid to be measured is a multiple of the orgonotic potency of distilled water.* The following table shows the values of orgonotic potency (OP) in various fluids:

* Protocol started January 2, 1945, concluded May 26, 1945, notarized March 3, 1945.

<i>Fluid</i>	<i>OP</i>
White sugar (saturated solution)	9
Brown sugar (saturated solution)	13
Maple syrup	27
Dextri-Maltose (saturated solution)	41
Honey	73
Orange juice	7
Milk (pasteurized)	55
Milk (not pasteurized)	100+
Egg-white	25
Tea	2
Whiskey (blended)	11
Distilled water	1
Rain water	3
Tap water	4
Sea water	8
NaCl (physiol. sol.)	4
KCl (0.1 normal)	2
CaCl ₂ (0.1 normal)	2.5
Ringer's solution	1.5
HCl (0.1 normal)	1
NaOH (0.1 normal)	2
HgCl ₂ (disinfectant)	3.5
Alcohol (95%)	3
Culture broth	45
50% broth, 50% KCl	60
Sand in H ₂ O, filtered	1
Iron filings in H ₂ O, filtered	5
Charcoal powder in H ₂ O, filtered	7
Earth in H ₂ O, filtered	8
Earth bions	50 (average)
Grass in H ₂ O, after develop- ment of bions and pro- tozoa, filtered	13
Urine	43

3. The screened garden soil is boiled for an hour in distilled or ordinary water, or autoclaved for half an hour (at 120°C. and 15 lbs. pressure).

4. The water is filtrated from the boiled soil. This clear fluid we call *bion water*. In contradistinction to the original water, which was colorless, this always shows a

yellow color of varying intensity. The fluorophotometric measurement of the organotic potency (OP) is made immediately after the boiling and filtration. Its values vary between about 30 and 60 and average about 45. In other words, the organotic lumination of the bion water is, on the average, 45 times stronger than before the boiling process. The galvanometer indicates the reaction of the photoelectric cell which is hit by the fluorescence light; consequently, an increase of the fluorophotometric value of the water after the boiling of the soil indicates a higher energy content of the fluid. This can be given in micro-amperes. However, the value in micro-amperes which we read at the galvanometer is not the real measure of the organotic lumination; it is merely a measure of the excitation of the photoelectric cell which is transformed into electrical energy. As I have shown elsewhere, *the electric units of measurement indicate only an infinitesimal fraction of the actual energy values of the orgone.*

5. Only at first sight does it seem astounding that boiled bion water shows energy values in the range of those of organic fluids such as bouillon, milk or vitamins. On giving the matter some thought, one finds that the result is logical and matter-of-course:

The boiling changed the matter of the soil into motile *bionous* matter. Energy became liberated from the matter. This is clearly shown by microscopic examination: before boiling, the particles of the soil exhibited no motion, while after boiling the orgone energy vesicles show an inner motion, contractility and slow pulsation. In the process of boiling, not only were the soil particles changed into bions and energy was liberated in the particles; more than that: *this energy also got into the water, for water attracts orgone (and vice versa).* In this manner, the organotic potency of the water is increased from its original value to that of biochemical fluids

of high orgonotic potency.

6. Experience shows that in the boiled bion water rot bacteria develop, even if air is immediately excluded. For this reason, we started to autoclave it for 30 minutes at 120°C. and 15 lbs. pressure. This procedure usually lowers the OP some 5 to 8 points, but in the course of the next 24 or 48 hours it rises again to the original level. The autoclaved bion water is kept in carefully sterilized flasks or in sealed ampoules which are put in the refrigerator.

B. THE ORGANIZATION OF BIONOUS AND PLASMATIC MATTER FROM THE ORGONE ENERGY IN THE BION WATER

Bion water of high OP, completely free of particles and sterile, is placed into vials or test tubes two days after boiling or autoclavation. The vials are sealed off, the test tubes stoppered with sterile cotton stoppers. We divide the tubes into three groups. *Group A* is placed in a triple orgone accumulator of 1 cubic foot; *Group B* is left standing in the laboratory; *Group C* is placed into the freezing compartment of the refrigerator. As controls we use three groups of tubes with plain sterile water which are placed in the same way.

Two to eight days after the freezing, we thaw out *Group C*. Before the thawing out, we are struck by the fact that *the yellow color of the bion water has become concentrated in the center of the ice in a dense, brownish-yellow spot*. The surrounding peripheral ice is completely clear. Immediately after the thawing of the ice, one notices whitish and brownish flakes in the previously clear fluid. These flakes have a macroscopic size of about 1 to 5 mm. length and about 1 mm. width. The fluid is yellow and clear throughout.

Groups A and B develop the same flakes, only much more slowly, that is, in a period of from 3 to 8 weeks. Control Group B, kept in the laboratory room, shows no flakes of any kind, nor does Control Group C. Control Group A, on the other hand,

ordinary water in the orgone accumulator, also shows flakes, but only in the course of several *months*, and not as dense or well-formed as the experimental Groups A, B and C.

Microscopic examination of the flakes always showed the same two basic types: *Smooth, plasmatic, but well-defined forms* in which there are found dispersed, more or less densely, dark granules and occasionally blue PA bions; or *strongly bionous heaps of orgone energy vesicles* with a strong blue glimmer and margin (*cf.* microphotographs on following pages).

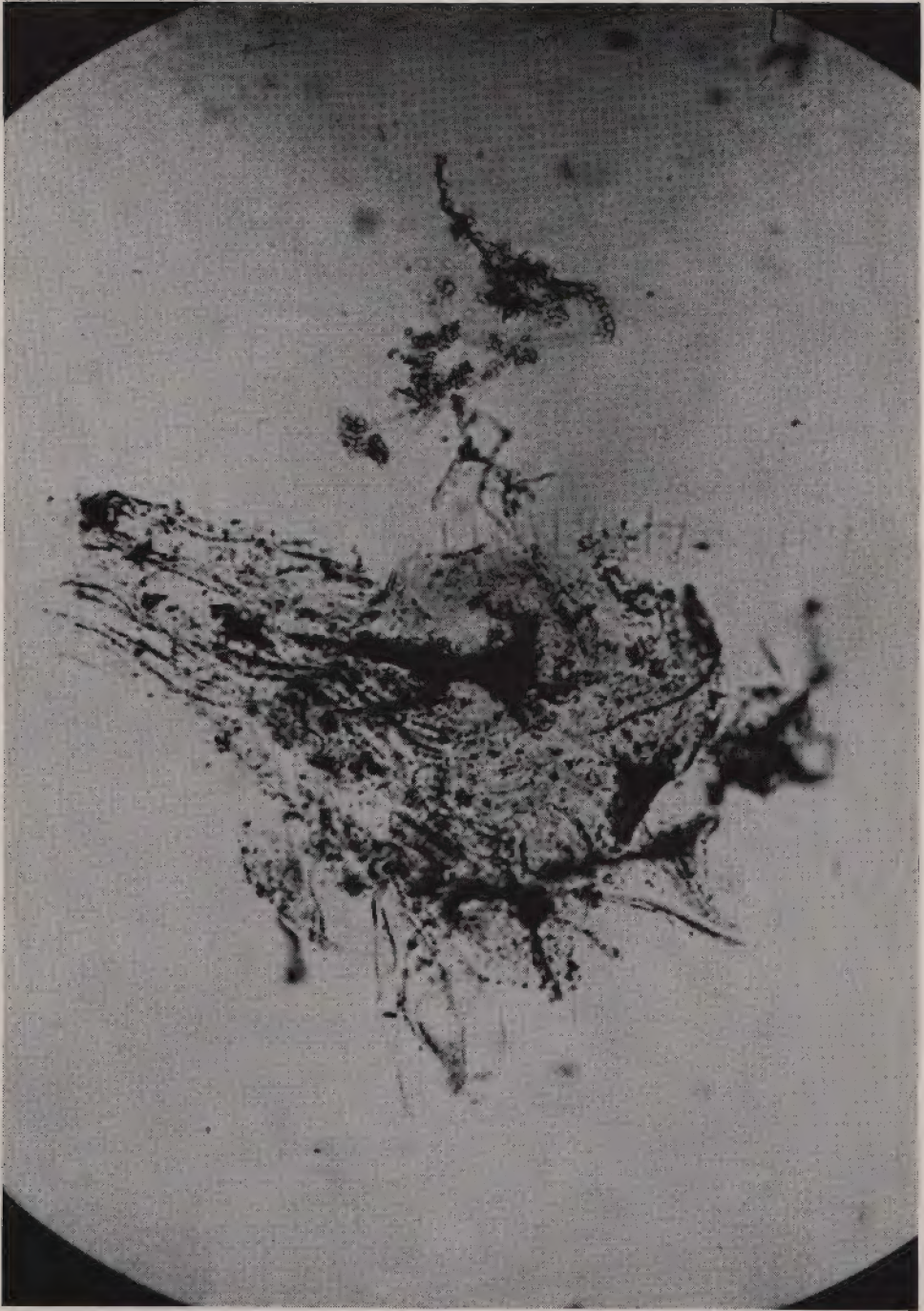
The preparations, kept under sterile conditions, showed an *increase in flakes* after a few days, but a much greater increase after 2 to 3 weeks. Microscopic examination shows that the flakes grow individually through addition of substance and also that they increase by division. The threadlike, winding and serpentine light flakes change in the course of the weeks more or less into strongly radiating bionous heaps.

Culture experiment: In order to observe the growth and increase still more clearly, the flakes can be put into clear, sterile bion water. After 1 to 2 weeks, there is definite culture formation. *The flakes become denser*. Observation to date shows that the OP of the culture fluid remains at about the same level or even increases.

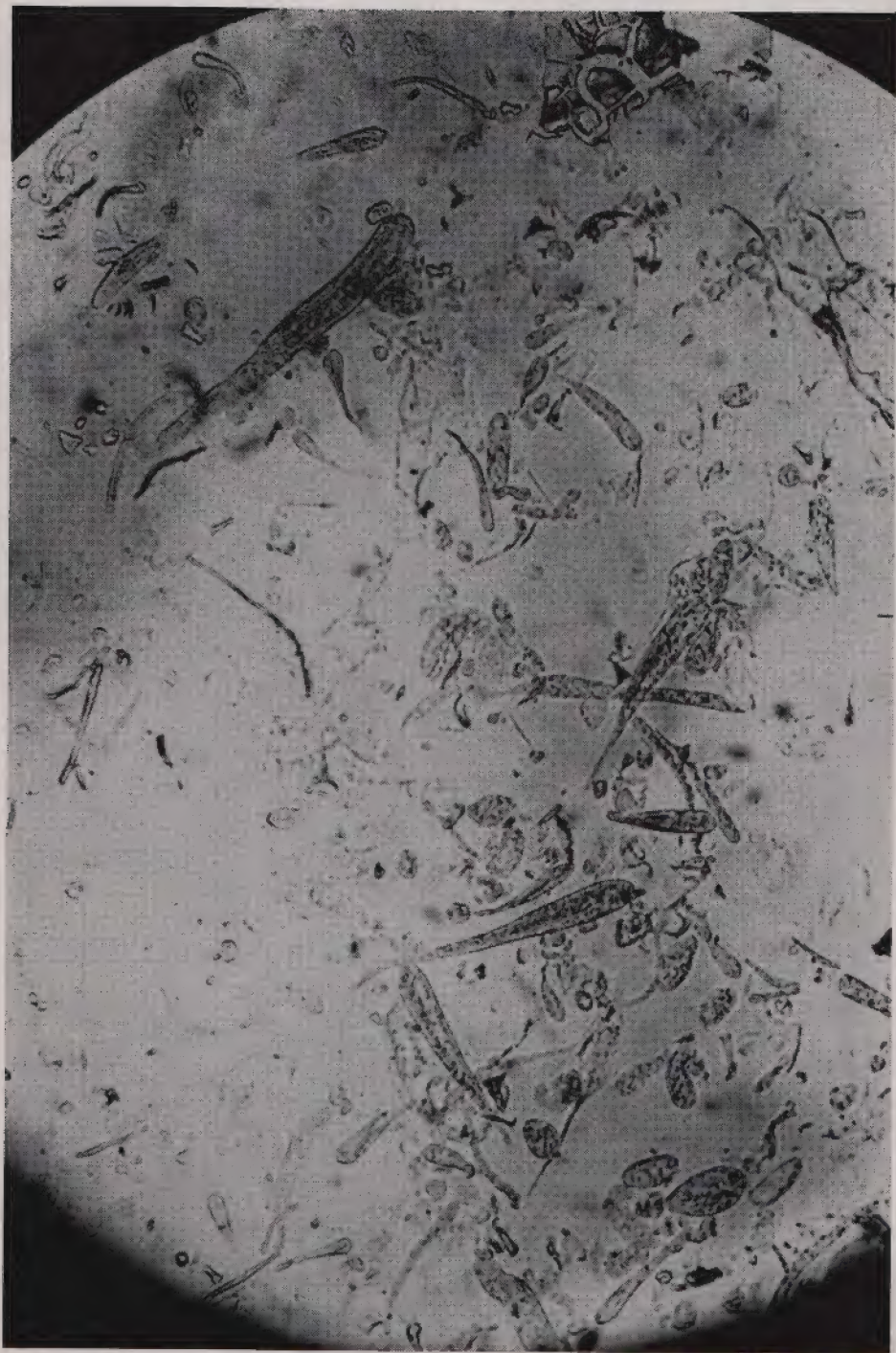
Observing the preparations microscopically at regular intervals, say once a week, over several months, one sees very gradual biophysical changes take place in the flakes. In many of them spherical bions of about 2 to 3 μ diameter, with a margin and strong blue glimmer, develop; these gradually become elongated and finally assume the shape of a bean:

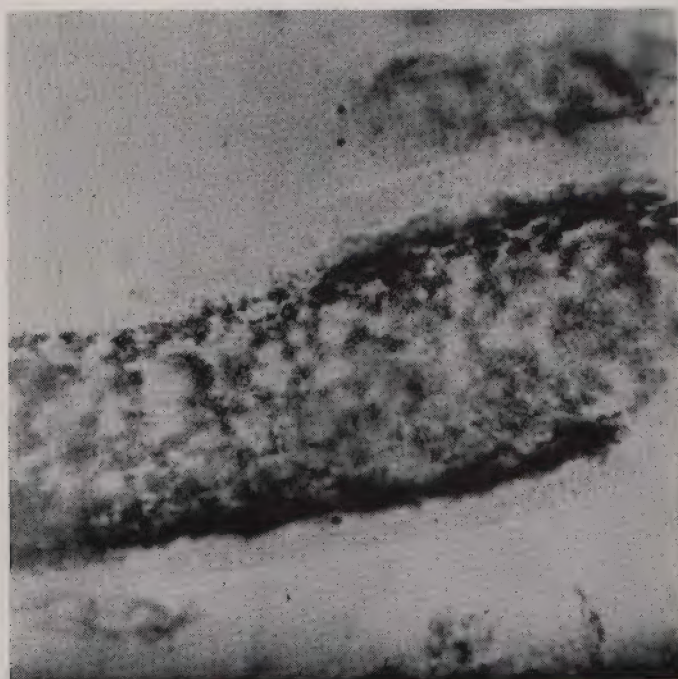
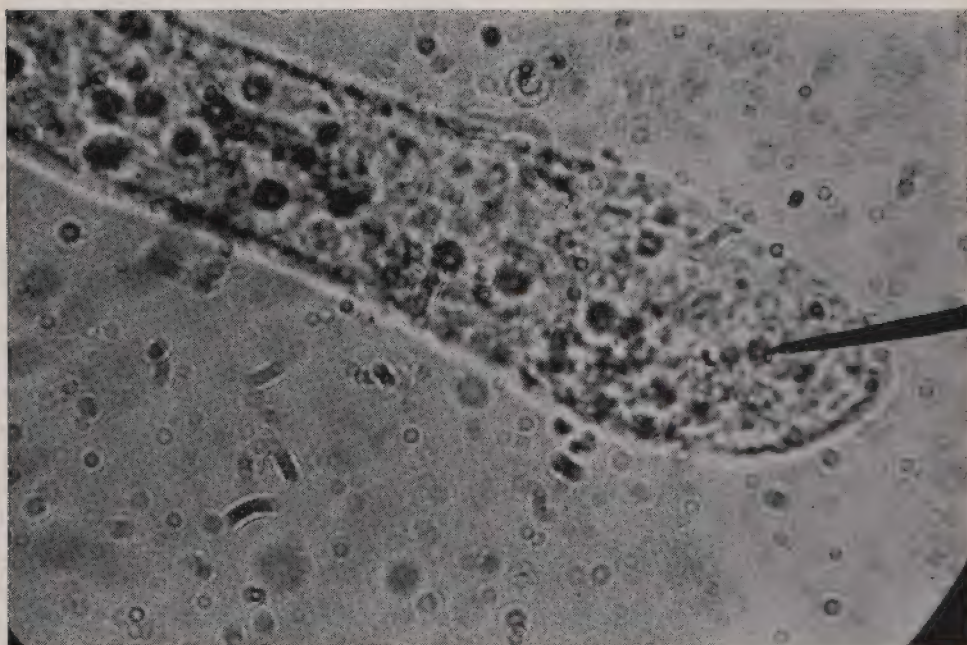


These "bean forms" develop under favorable conditions, i.e., if there is no premature T-degeneration present in the preparations,









into contractile protozoa which move rapidly in a jerky manner. The plasma of most of these protozoa has a granular or striated structure; in others it is smooth, without structure. One can obtain pure cultures of these protozoa by inoculating from the fluid *above* the flakes, without stirring up the flakes themselves. They increase from culture to culture without difficulty.

C. OBSERVATIONS AND TESTS CONCERNING THE BIOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE ORGONE FLAKES

1. *The thawed-out, flake-containing preparation XX represents an unresolvable colloid:* Evaporation of clear, yellow bion water results in a yellow, smooth, opaque residue on the bottom of the container. When scraped off, it forms a powder consisting of small yellow or brownish crystals which we termed "orgontin." These crystals cannot be dissolved again, either in ordinary water or in water with a high orgone content. They merely swell up and appear exactly like the flakes which one obtains by thawing out of frozen bion water. They, too, show the manifestations of growth, of multiplication and of protozoa formation.

2. *Microscopic observation of organization:* The flakes grow, both in length and in width; bion heaps become larger through organization of further bions from the fluid. Small flakes become larger, while smaller flakes sprout from the large ones. Often, the bions arrange themselves in groups. The larger the flakes become the darker they turn, until they are brown or almost black.

3. *Orgonotic attraction and sterilizing effect:* The orgone flakes act like any other strongly bionous matter examined thus far. Brought together with rot bacteria, they kill or at least paralyze the latter; this effect takes place *at a distance*.

4. *T-degeneration and putrefaction:* Like any other organic or living substance, the orgone flakes degenerate in the form of

putrefaction, disintegrating into T-bodies. In strongly degenerated preparations, protozoa develop only poorly, compared with sterile preparations. By repeated freezing, degenerated preparations can again and again be made free of T-bacilli and rot bacteria. This process seems to facilitate the organization of moving protozoa.

5. Dried flakes *burn* in the flame, turning into a black, coal-like substance; i.e., they act like living protoplasm or non-living organic carbon compounds. Even when, without burning them, one merely lets them dry out, the same black coal-like substance develops, probably through oxidation; it burns in the flame.

6. *Sugar content:* Bion water with a high orgonotic potency has a sweet taste. Burning of the flakes results in an odor like that of caramel. (An exact biochemical analysis is yet to be done).

7. All vessels which have been in contact with bion water or bion earth for a considerable period of time have a *fatty* feel.

8. To weakening procedures, such as autoclavation, the bion water reacts as a living organism would react, that is, with a *decrease of OP*, which increases again only gradually.

9. *Contractility of the free orgone in the bion water.* The appearance of a concentrated yellow spot in the center of the clear ice admits of only one plausible explanation: *The free orgone energy in the freezing water acts exactly like the orgone energy in a freezing organism; contracting, it retracts from where the freezing takes place.* Free orgone energy, then, has the ability to contract; in the process of contraction, matter develops, apparently through condensation. This process requires intensive study.

10. The orgone flakes develop more rapidly into protozoa when one adds T-bacilli to the preparation. Then, one can observe the development of plasmatic spindle forms with a coarse structure, re-

EXPERIMENT XX

Date	Prep. No.	Procedure	OP before treat.	Type of Organization		Other Forms Present			Reproduction	T-degeneration
				Bion.	Plasm.	Single Cells	Bean-Shapes	Protozoa		
Jan. 2, '45	XX 1 Org	Kept in accumulator 20 days	46	+	-	-	+	+	+	
Jan. 3	XX 1 f	Frozen 21 days	38	++	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jan. 6	XX 1 c	Autoclaved, kept in room	41	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
Jan. 8	XX 1 x	Untreated, kept in room	40	+	-	-	+	+	+	
Jan. 25	XX 2 f	Frozen 4 days		-	+	+	+	-	+	+
Jan. 26	XX 3 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 4 days	52	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jan. 30	XX 1 g	Dried to crystals, put in distilled water		+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Jan. 30	XX 4 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 3 days	60	+	(+)	+	+	-	+	+
Jan. 31	XX 5 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 4 days	51	+	(+)	++	+	-	+	+
Jan. 31	XX 5 cg	Autoclaved; dried, put in distilled water	51	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
Feb. 5	XX 6 cf	Autoclaved; alternately frozen & thawed 6 days	57	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Feb. 6	XX 6 cg	Autoclaved, dried, put in bion-water	57	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Feb. 9	XX 8 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 1 day		+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Feb. 9	XX 9 cf	Autoclaved; frozen 1 day	37	+	+	++	+	-	+	+

sembling the Ca III formations (*cf. This Journal* 2, 1943, 80).

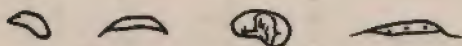
Stages of development of protozoa in sterile bion water free of particles. Summary:

a) After the thawing of bion water there appear granulated plasmatic flakes of a typically organic form.

b) Many of the single granulae expand into spherical orgone energy vesicles with a strong blue glimmer. Most of these groups of bions conglomerate into larger forms.

c) The spherical bions, in the course of days or weeks, develop into bean-shaped, as yet immobile forms.

d) These bean-shaped forms become mobile in two ways: At a magnification of 3-5000x the content of the energy vesicles shows fine movements of expansion and contraction; the forms stretch out more and more, the membranes becoming softer, and they begin to move from place to place. Those forms which have become strongly elongated develop serpentine or corkscrew-like movements. The following drawings are from life at a magnification of about 240x, and of apparent size:



e) If one inoculates protozoa-containing bion water fluid into sterile bion water, the protozoa increase in the same way and can be reinoculated again and again. These protozoa I termed *orgonomia*.

Some control experiments:

1. Freezing of ordinary, *non-sterile* spring water or of distilled water produces neither flakes nor protozoa. The organization of plasmatic matter, therefore, is to be ascribed only to the high orgone content as determined by the fluorophotometer.

2. If one *distills* bion water of about 40 to 50 OP, one finds some flakes *immediately after cooling*, and numerous flakes after

freezing. This is further confirmation of the statement made under (1).

3. Since sea water is extremely rich in orgone, the fact is understandable that it, also, results in flakes and protozoal growth after filtration and autoclavation. However, there is a riddle here: Sea water taken at Jones Beach, on the Atlantic shore of Long Island, N. Y., shows, about 1 hour after being taken, an OP of only 8 to 10. Earth bion water of such low OP results in no or only poor bion growth; it remains to be explained, therefore, why in sea water the low OP makes no difference. The phenomenon is important; but we cannot understand everything at one time.

4. Water from autoclaved grass also results in flakes after freezing; they multiply and grow.

Biological effects:

Injection of bion water of high orgonotic potency into living organisms, plants as well as animals, results in vigorous vagotonic reactions. *The life-furthering effect of this preparation is established as a fact.* Detailed reports on these experiments will follow.

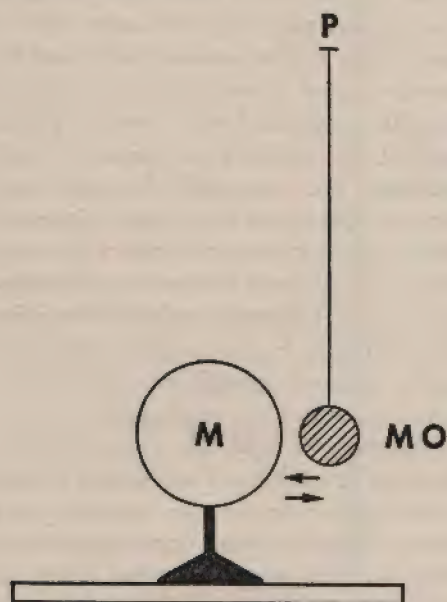
III. DEMONSTRATION OF ORGONOTIC PULSATION IN THE REALM OF THE NON-LIVING.

The following observations and experiments were undertaken in order to demonstrate the specifically biological orgone energy also in the *purely physical* realm. This undertaking was successful which takes the ground from under any mystical concept of the specific biological energy. The relevant observations and experiments are very simple and easily carried out.

A. THE OSCILLATIONS OF A PENDULUM IN THE PULSATING ORGONE ENERGY FIELD OF A METAL SPHERE

Experiment: A metal sphere (iron or steel) of about 4 to 6 cm. diameter is placed on a solid table, with or without concrete

floor. At a distance of about 0.5 cm. from the equator of this sphere, a much smaller sphere (about 1 cm. diameter) is suspended freely as a pendulum. For certain definite reasons, the length of the pendulum thread is made 16 cm. The best results, according to my experience, are obtained if one makes the pendulum sphere of a mixture of earth and iron filings (i.e., organic plus metallic material) by mixing the two substances in water and putting them into a sphere of extremely thin glass. The whole apparatus is then covered with a transparent cellulose cover which protects it against air currents.



Demonstration of organotic pulsation in the atmosphere

- M = metal sphere
 P = pendulum
 MO = metal + organic matter
 ⇌ = direction of oscillation

Observation: In dry, sunny weather, the pendulum sphere oscillates spontaneously toward the center of the metal sphere. When the relative humidity exceeds about 70%, or in rainy weather, the pendulum movements decrease or disappear altogether. The movements increase in ampli-

tude if the organism of the observer has a strong and wide orgone energy field. The oscillations continue all the time, no matter where the apparatus is placed. They vary only according to the laws of the pendulum, the number of oscillations per unit of time varying with the length of the pendulum and with the altitude.

Conclusion: This experiment demonstrates the *existence of a pulsating orgone energy field* around an ordinary iron sphere which makes a freely suspended pendulum oscillate. *The natural orgone energy field in the realm of the non-living pulsates.*

B. THE PULSATION OF THE ATMOSPHERIC ORGONE

Experiment and observation: A telescope (E. Vion, Paris, France) with an aperture of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 4 foot length, with a magnification of 185x, was placed on the shore of the lake so that the opposite shore, at a distance of from 4 to 8 miles, could be observed. The observations were made at my cabin on Lake Mooselookmeguntic, Maine, during 2 months in the summer of 1944 and 4 weeks during the summer of 1945, daily from morning until evening, at about half-hourly intervals. The important observation is the following: With the telescope trained toward the South, one observes against the background of the opposite shore, even at a magnification of 60x, a wave-like pulsating movement which—save certain exceptions—is always *from West to East*. This West-East movement is *constant* no matter whether the lake is smooth or rough, no matter whether the wind is from the West or from the South, no matter whether it is strong or weak. The farther toward the West or the East one trains the telescope, the less observable does the movement become, to disappear completely if one looks directly toward the West or the East. The speed of the wave-like movement varies at different times. It is independent of the air temperature. The “something” in the atmosphere

must, of course, be moving faster than the earth, or else the movement could not be seen. Always before the formation of a heavy thunderstorm in the *West*, the direction of the wave-like movement became reversed, or at least ceased. I have never seen it move from South to North or from North to South.

This telescopic observation is supported by an observation one can make with the naked eye at times of complete calm and smooth lake: Above the mirror of the lake, one sees a *pulsation* of an infinite number of small sections, while "the whole" moves, in a *pulsatory* manner, and more or less rapidly, from West to East.

These observations, which—with some patience and practice—are very easy to make, are in accordance with the finding of a pulsating orgone energy field around a metal sphere as well as with the orgone-biophysical basic concept of *the pulsatory basic function of the orgone energy*. More than that, the rotation and pulsation of the atmospheric orgone from West to East is in absolute agreement with certain astronomical observations known for a long time. The astronomic significance of these observations will be discussed extensively elsewhere. The preliminary conclusion is the following: *The earth is surrounded not only by an air atmosphere of a definite chemical composition, but also by an envelope consisting of orgone energy*. This ORGONE ENVELOPE rotates from West to East, faster than the earth. The connection between the reversal of this direction and local weather formation awaits further study in detail. The rotating orgone envelope has nothing to do with waves of vapor or with air movement, for it is independent of these processes.

What has been said here is to be regarded as a preliminary communication. When social and financial conditions permit, these findings will have to be checked and expanded by intensive studies in various places. I may add here, however, that it has

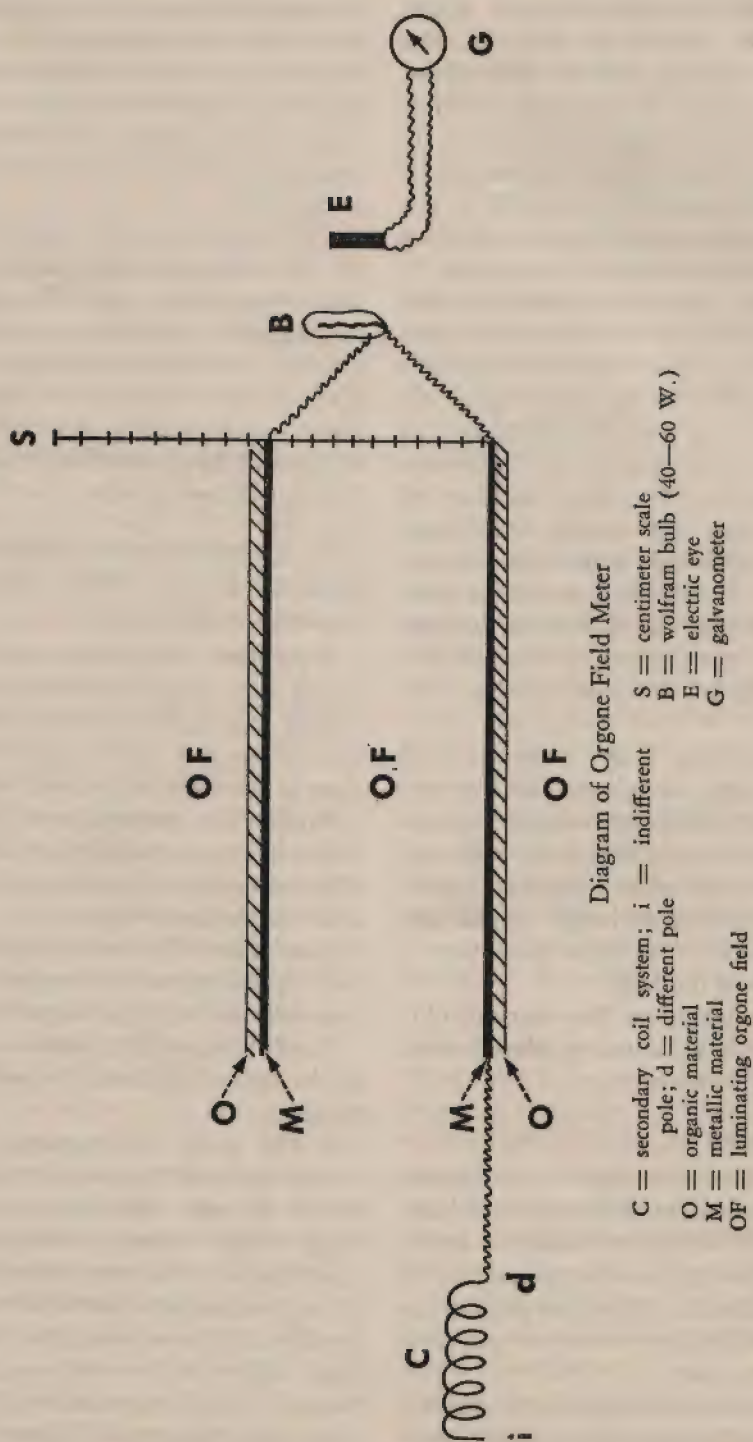
already been possible to confirm the existence of a pulsation in the atmosphere by way of the oscillograph. The presentation of these findings will have to be postponed for some time.

IV. DEMONSTRATION OF ORGONOTIC LUMINATION AT THE ORGONE ENERGY FIELD METER.

Apparatus: The different pole of the secondary coil of an induction apparatus (an old diathermy apparatus will do) is connected by an electric wire with an iron plate of 1 x 2 feet which rests on a wood plate the same size (*cf.* diagram, p. 143). About 6 to 12 inches above this plate, another metal plate of the same size is mounted in such a manner that it can be moved up and down. The upper side of this plate is insulated with a plate of plastic material (or celotex) of about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thickness. The lower and the upper iron plate are connected by a wire connected with a simple cylindrical bulb of about 40 watts. The primary current of the induction apparatus is turned up just to the point where the bulb begins to glow. (How this is to be achieved depends, of course, on the individual induction apparatus).

Observations: 1. If one holds a fluorescent tube in one's hand and brings it close to the upper plate, the tube luminates, at a distance from the plate depending on the strength of the primary current. If we put the tube on the upper plate and remove our hand, the light goes out. As soon as we bring our hand close to the tube, the lumination reappears and becomes more intense when we touch the tube. The lumination is most intense *between* the two metal plates and decreases steadily with the distance from the apparatus. It is intermittent, not steady. In this manner, we can determine the exact extent of the energy field of the orgone energy field meter.

2. If we bring our hands gradually closer to the upper plate from above, the connected tube (B) luminates more strongly,



and even more strongly when we put our hands on the plate (to avoid an electric shock, there must be no nails or other metallic connections with the metal plate). The more of our body surface we bring close to the upper plate, the stronger is the lumination. With careful adjustment of the primary current, it is possible to perceive the pulsation of the heart in the form of slight oscillations of the lumination.

3. A static electroscope gives no deflection if we bring our hand close to its plate. If, however, we place the electroscope into the energy field of the apparatus, on the upper plate, then we find a deflection if we bring our palm close to the electroscope plate (without, of course, touching it).

4. A freshly cut branch with many leaves, or a freshly killed fish produce lumination of the bulb if put on the upper plate. However, the lumination becomes steadily weaker and cannot be achieved at all after the fish has been dead for some time.

5. If we bring a dry piece of wood, which is long enough so that our own orgone energy field does not come into contact with the energy field of the apparatus, close to the upper plate, there is no lumination. If, however, we bring a metal plate close, parallel to the upper plate, there is lumination of the bulb.

6. In the field of an Xray machine of 60 to 80 kilovolt, we cannot produce lumination of a fluorescent tube.

Conclusions:

1. The secondary coil of an induction apparatus—in contradistinction to ordinary electric high voltage—produces an orgone energy field which can be demonstrated by the lumination of a fluorescent gas (helium, argon, neon) without the necessity of direct contact by a wire.

2. *Orgonotic lumination is the result of the contact between two orgone energy fields.*

3. The lumination effect is obtained only through the contact of an orgone energy field with the energy field of a *living* organism, but not through contact with non-living organic material. That is, the living organism differs from the non-living organism in that it possesses an orgone energy field.

4. The addition of a sensitive electric eye (E) near the bulb transforms the lumination energy into electrical energy and makes it possible to measure it in electrical units by means of a galvanometer (G). In this manner, the orgone field meter can be used to determine the intensity and the extent of the orgone energy field of a living organism.

V. DEMONSTRATION OF ORGONOTIC ATTRACTION IN THE ENERGY FIELD OF THE ORGONE ACCUMULATOR.

Experiment: We bring a good magnetic needle close to an orgone accumulator of 1 cubic foot, in the following manner: a) close to the center of the 4 upper edges; b) close to the center of the lower edges.

Result: The magnetic north pole regularly turns toward the center of the upper edges, the magnetic south pole toward the center of the lower edges.

Conclusion: *The reaction of the energy field of an orgone accumulator is of an orgonotic and not of a magnetic nature.*

Proof: 1. magnetic attraction is confined to the ends of the iron; the middle is not magnetic.

2. The poles of magnetic attraction (south and north) are not interchangeable, except if one remagnetizes a weaker magnet with a stronger one. If the attraction effect of the orgone accumulator were of an iron-magnetic nature, the magnetic needle would turn toward the center of the edges always in the same way, no matter how we turn the accumulator. This, however, is not the case. *Whichever edges we make the upper, lower or side edges, the*

magnetic needle always reacts as described, that is, it turns with its north pole toward the center of the upper edges and with its south pole toward the center of the lower edges. The attraction effect of the orgone accumulator, then, is not due to definite parts of the material and can, therefore, not be of a magnetic nature. Obviously, the reaction depends on the position of the orgone accumulator in the field of the organotic atmosphere of the earth. It follows, under consideration of all experimental and theoretical facts, that the energy field of the earth also is not of a magnetic but of an organotic nature and has a definite relationship to the magnetic north and south pole of the earth.

It is likely that magnetism as such will be shown to be a function of the cosmic orgone energy. Many scientists doubt the magnetic nature of so-called "earth magnetism."

VI. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING ORGONE ENERGY WHICH IS NOT BOUND TO FORMED MATTER.

We shall now summarize those basic characteristics of the orgone energy which are so clearly expressed in our Experiment XX and other manifestations and which confirm orgone-physical observations made many years ago in still very primitive bion preparations, in the development of cancer cells and in the atmospheric orgone.

1. Pulsation, that is, alternating expansion and contraction, is a basic characteristic of the orgone energy. In the realm of the living, it functions specifically as "biological energy." The pulsation can be demonstrated by a pendulum in the energy field of a metal sphere; further, visually, on the smooth surface of a lake; in all kinds of living matter, in the total organism as well as in every individual organ.

2. The earth (like probably all planets and fixed stars) is surrounded by a rotating orgone envelope of yet undetermined

depth; this orgone envelope rotates more rapidly than the earth itself but in the same direction of West to East. The reversal of the direction of this movement to one from East to West has a relationship to rain formation, at least in the region in which these observations were made.

3. Like the atmosphere, humus contains orgone energy. Humus itself consists of bionous matter. By increasing the bionous disintegration in water, one obtains an increase also of the organotic potency of the water, from a normal value of about 3 to 4 OP up to 25 to 70 OP, compared with the OP (= 1) of distilled water.

4. Orgone energy in high concentration, above about 25 OP, colors water yellow.

5. Orgone energy which at room temperature is equally divided throughout the fluid, contracts under the influence of cold, forming a brownish-yellow core in the ice.

6. Protoplasmatic matter can develop from concentrated free orgone, that is, orgone which is not bound to any particles; from the plasmatic bionous matter, protozoa develop.

7. The process mentioned under (6) apparently is of a general nature and significance: it points to a natural process according to which matter developed from orgone energy, an energy which has to be considered the primordial cosmic energy in general.

8. To judge from Experiment XX, the living plasm on our planet developed *before* the formation of coal substance and carbohydrates. Coal is a secondary product of past life. It follows that the biochemical molecules were not, as is generally assumed, present before the development of plasmatic substance; rather, the biochemical molecule developed in the process of plasmatic organization as one of its mechanical constituents.

9. Orgone energy has the characteristic of luminating when two orgone energy fields make contact. This is what the prin-

ciple of the orgone energy field meter is based upon.

10. The basic characteristics of the cosmic orgone which have thus far been discovered are, then, pulsation, lumination, condensation into matter, irritability, and

heat formation; all these are qualities which specifically characterize the basic process of living matter.

Orgonon, Maine, U.S.A.

June, 1945.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE APPARATUS FROM RATIONAL SOCIAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS*

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.

The second world war has again confirmed what had been general knowledge: The political reactionary differs *fundamentally* from the true democrat in his attitude toward state power. This attitude permits an *objective* evaluation of the social character of a person, no matter to what political party he may belong. According to this criterion, there are true democrats among the Fascists and true Fascists among the party Democrats. Like character structure, this attitude toward state power permeates all political groups. Here, too, a black-and-white presentation, that is, a mechanical correlation of attitude and political party, is wrong and sociologically inadmissible.

The reactionary, typically, demands that the power of the state be above society; he demands the "*idea* of the state," which leads in a straight line to dictatorial absolutism, whether this be represented in state form by a royal, ministerial or openly fascist absolutism. The true democrat, who recognizes natural work democracy to be the natural basis of international and national cooperation, strives to make the authoritarian handling of the difficulties of social living superfluous by eliminating their social causes. This requires a thorough discussion of the development of the authoritarian state and its rational function. It is senseless and fruitless to fight an irrational social institution without asking oneself how it is possible that this institu-

tion, in spite of its irrationalism, manages to continue its existence, and even to appear necessary. We saw what made the Russian state apparatus necessary, and it was not difficult to see that, in spite of all its irrationalism, it had the rational function of keeping Russian society together and of leading it, after the masses had failed in their social task.

We will condemn as irrational the authoritarian strictness of a mother toward her neurotic child. We know that this strictness makes the child ill but we cannot overlook the fact—and this is the cardinal point in the fight against authoritarian education—that a child, once made neurotic and living in a neurotic family situation, can be made to do things, say, go to school, only by authoritarian means. That is, the mother's authoritarian strictness has also a rational aspect, even though limited and conditional. It is not fundamentally rational. We shall have to admit this *conditional* rational function if we are ever to convince the educator, who adheres to the authoritarian principle as a makeshift measure, that the authoritarian principle *can be* eliminated by the prevention of neurotic illness in the children.

The *conditional* rational function is also present in the authoritarian state, as painful as it is to admit this fact and as dangerous as this statement could become in the hands of a mystical dictator. He might say, "You see, even the work democrats, all for freedom as they are, admit the necessity and rationality of authoritarian leadership." But we know that *what makes authoritarian leadership necessary is the irrational*

* From W. Reich, *THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM*, 3rd, revised and enlarged edition. Translated by Theodore P. Wolfe. To be published by the Orgone Institute Press, Spring, 1946.

character structure of the human masses. This is the only way to a comprehension of dictatorship, and this comprehension is the only hope of ever eliminating it from human life. For by recognizing the irrationality in the structure of the masses we gain the social basis to fight it and with it dictatorship, a basis, furthermore, which is objective and not illusory. Strengthening of state power is always the result of disturbances in social living. This corresponds to the moralistic-authoritarian method of always tackling difficulties at the *surface*. It never removes the evil but merely pushes it into the background from which it later breaks out with all the more violence. If there is no other way of dealing with rape murders than the execution of the rape murderer, one takes recourse to execution. This is the authoritarian way. In work democracy, the problem is how one could prevent the development of rape murderers. Only when we understand the necessity of execution and simultaneously condemn it does the problem of prevention become clear. Clearly, the prevention of social evils is one of the principal means of bringing about the withering away of the authoritarian state. The moralistic authoritarian principle will continue to function to the extent to which it cannot be replaced by the methods of self-regulation. This applies to the state as well as to all fields of social living.

The authoritarian state is essentially, though not exclusively, a suppressive apparatus. It is, at the same time, a sum of social interrelationships which have become autonomous. Originally, the state was identical with society; in the course of thousands of years, it alienated itself more and more from society and became a power above and against society.

As long as there was a social organization which was not disrupted by serious inner conflicts, such as the clan society, there was no need for any special power to hold this social organism together. If, how-

ever, society is split up by all kinds of conflicts, it needs a power which prevents its disintegration. The splitting up of German society into many inimical political parties was an important factor in the rise of fascism. Its rapid rise shows clearly that the social unity promised by the idea of the state was more important to the German masses than their party ideology. This does not change the fact that political ideologies cannot eliminate the inner disintegration of society, be that ideology that of the authoritarian state or that of diverse parties. The Fascists were not alone in emphasizing the state; they only did so better and more vigorously than the social-democratic government, the Communists or the Liberals. And for just this reason fascism was victorious. It is the political disintegration of society, then, which creates the state idea, and conversely, the state idea which creates social disintegration. It is a vicious circle with no way out unless one goes to the roots of the disintegration as well as of the state idea and reduces both to a common denominator. As we already know, this common denominator is the irrational character structure of the masses. It was never comprehended by any of the political parties. It was one of the greatest errors in evaluating dictatorship to say that the dictator forces himself on society against its own will. In reality, every dictator in history was nothing but the accentuation of already existing state ideas which he had only to exaggerate in order to gain power.

Engels long ago pointed out the double function, rational and irrational, of the state:

The state is therefore by no means a power imposed on society from the outside; just as little is it "the reality of the moral idea," "the image and reality of reason," as Hegel asserted. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insolu-

ble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, may not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power apparently standing above society becomes necessary, whose purpose is to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly separating itself from it, is the state.

This sociological clarification of the state concept by the manufacturer and German sociologist Engels has invalidated all philosophies of the state which, in one way or another, go back to the abstract and metaphysical state idea of Plato. Engels' theory of the state does not reduce the state apparatus to higher values or nationalist mysticism, but gives a simple picture of the double nature of the state. In clarifying the social basis of the state apparatus and the contradiction between state and society, this theory gives the wise statesman of the caliber of, say, a Masaryk or a Roosevelt, as well as every working individual, the means of understanding the dissociation of society and the resulting necessity of a state apparatus, and, with that, the means of *eliminating* it.

Let us try to understand the double nature of the state by means of a simple illustration from its development: In the early beginnings of civilization, the social tasks of work and living together were simple. Correspondingly, the interpersonal relationships were simple. These facts can be studied in the still existing remainders of this old simple civilization. Let us take the well-known organization of the Trobrianders. They have a natural economy, that is, a use economy and hardly any market economy. One clan, say, catches fish, another grows fruit. One has an excess of fish, the other of fruit; therefore, they ex-

change fish for fruit. Their production is very simple.

Besides the economic there is a definite familial interpersonal relationship. Since sexual pairing is exogamous, the Trobriand youth of one clan establishes sexual relationships with another clan. If by a social interpersonal relationship we mean any relationship which serves the gratification of a basic biological need we have to assign the sexual relationships a full function on a par with the economic relationships. The more complex the needs become, and the more the division of labor progresses, the less is it possible for the individual working member of the society to fulfil his manifold duties. For example:

Let us transplant our Trobrianders to any region of Europe or Asia. Such an assumption is admissible, for all nations have originated from tribes, and the tribes from groups of clans. Similarly, market economy everywhere developed out of natural economy. Let us assume that in such a community of say, 200 or 300 people, the need arises of establishing contact with another small community. The need is still small, there is only *one* person among the 200 who wants to communicate with somebody in another community. He gets on his horse and rides to the other place to transmit his message. The need for social contact with other communities gradually grows. Up to now, every individual was his own postman; but now the rider is asked to take along a number of letters. The communities grow, and now hundreds of people in one community wish to correspond with hundreds of people in other communities. With the development of commerce, letter-writing has ceased to be a rare curiosity. The transmission of letters becomes a vitally necessary task which can no longer be managed in the old fashion. The community deliberates and decides to employ a "letter-carrier." It relieves one of its members of all other work, guarantees his living expenses and charges him with

the transportation of all letters for the community. *This first letter-carrier is the human embodiment of the interpersonal relationship of writing and transmitting letters.* In this manner, a *social organ* is established which as yet does nothing but carry out the demand of all the letter-writers. Our letter-carrier is a primitive type of social administrator, whose vitally necessary work is still strictly in the service of the social community.

Let us assume that the primitive communities develop into towns of, say, 50,000. One letter-carrier is no longer sufficient, but 100 are needed. These 100 letter-carriers need an administration of their own in the person of a *chief letter-carrier*. He comes from the ranks of the plain letter-carriers and is relieved of his job in order to take over the job of arranging the work of the 100 letter-carriers in the most advantageous manner. He does as yet not "supervise" or command. He is not distinguished from the community of letter-carriers. All he does is facilitate their work by arranging a time table and carrier routes. In order to simplify the whole procedure, he makes postage stamps.

In this manner, a simple, vitally necessary function of society has become autonomous. "The post" has become an "apparatus" of society, growing out of society for the purpose of better coordination; it does not yet assume the position of *a power above society*.

How is it possible for such an administrative social apparatus to become a suppressive power apparatus? It does not do so on the basis of its original function. True, the administrative apparatus maintains these social functions, but gradually it develops characteristics other than its vitally necessary activity. Let us assume that the conditions of authoritarian patriarchy have already developed in our community. For example, there are already privileged families which have developed from the original tribal chiefs. By the

accumulation of dowries, they have developed a twofold power: first, the power of wealth, and second, the power of forbidding their own children sexual intercourse with the less well-to-do strata of society. These two power functions always go hand in hand in the development of economic and sexual slavery. The increasingly powerful authoritarian patriarch wishes to prevent other, weaker members of society from maintaining contact with other communities. He wishes to prevent his daughters from exchanging love letters with men of their choice; he has an interest in limiting them to certain well-to-do men. His interests of sexual and economic suppression now begin to utilize those social functions which originally were in the hands of the total society. On the basis of his growing influence, our patriarch will see to it that the post no longer transmits all letters, without discrimination, but excludes certain letters, such as love letters and certain business letters. In order to fulfil this novel function, the post assigns to one letter-carrier the function of *postal censorship*. The social administration of letter transportation thus acquires a second function which now sets it apart from the total society as an *authoritarian apparatus*. This is the first step in the development of an authoritarian state apparatus from a social administrative apparatus. True, the letter-carriers still transmit letters, but now they also poke their noses into them and begin to decree who is allowed to write letters and what may be written. To this, the social community reacts either with toleration or with protest. The first chasm in the social community has developed, whether one calls it "class difference" or whatnot. It is not a matter of words here, but of the distinction between vitally necessary social functions and functions which restrict freedom. Now, the way is open to any kind of arbitrary action. For example, the Jesuits may utilize the postal censorship for their own purposes, or the secret police

may use it to increase its power.

This simplified example applies to the whole complicated machinery of present-day society. It applies to our banking system, the police and school system, to the distribution of goods, and certainly to the international representation of society. We can gain an orientation in the social chaos if, in evaluating any given state function, we ask ourselves consistently: *what in it corresponds to its original function of executing the demands of society, and what to the later acquired function of suppressing the freedom of the members of society?* The police, originally, had the task of protecting the community from murder and robbery. To that extent, they still fulfil a useful function of society. When the police, however, presumes to prohibit harmless games in private homes, or to tell people whether or not they may receive members of the other sex in their homes, etc., then we have the picture of a tyrannical authoritarian state power, a state power *above* society and *against* it.

The elimination of those functions of social administration which are above and against society is an inherent tendency of work democracy. The natural work-democratic process tolerates no administrative functions save those which serve the coherence of society and the facilitation of its vital functions. This makes it clear that one cannot be mechanistically "for" or "against" the "state." One has to make the distinctions which we discussed above. It is clear also that the state apparatus must again become the executive organ of society if it operates in the fulfilment of its natural work functions in the interest of society as a whole. With that, however, it ceases to be "state apparatus," and loses precisely those characteristics which alienate it from society, which put it above and against society and thus make it the germ cell of authoritarian dictatorships. This process represents the genuine "withering away of the state." What withers away is only its

irrational functions. The rational functions are vitally necessary and continue.

This distinction makes it possible to scrutinize every vitally necessary administrative function in time to determine whether it is beginning to assume a position above and against society, that is, turning into a new authoritarian state instrument. As long as it serves society it is part of it, is necessary and belongs in the realm of vitally necessary work. If, however, it presumes to be the master and tyrant of society, if it presumes autonomous power, the state apparatus becomes the deadly enemy of society and must be treated accordingly.

It goes without saying that none of the modern and complex social organisms could exist without an administrative apparatus. It is equally clear that the tendency to autonomous degeneration cannot be eradicated simply. Here is a vast field of study for the sociologist and social psychologist. But once the authoritarian state is abolished, the task remains of preventing a repetition of the authoritarian autonomy of administrations. Since this autonomy is the immediate result of the incapacity of the working masses to govern their own lives, it is clear that the problem of the authoritarian state cannot be handled without tackling the problem of human structure, and vice versa.

From this point, we arrive in a direct line to the question of so-called state capitalism, a phenomenon which was unknown in the 19th century and which has developed only since the first world war.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF STATE CAPITALISM

In Russia until about the end of the first world war and in the United States until the world economic crisis about 1930, the relationships between private capitalism and state were simple. To Lenin and his contemporaries, the "capitalist state" was simply the power instrument of the "class of private capitalists." In Russian revolu-

tionary films, the simplicity of this relationship was represented somewhat like this:

The private owner of a factory tries to lower wages while the workers ask for an increase. The capitalist refuses to raise the wages, whereupon the workers strike. The capitalist telephones the commissioner of police and asks him to "establish order." The police commissioner here appears as the state instrument of the capitalist, thus demonstrating the fact that the state is a "state of capitalists": he sends the police, has the "ringleaders" arrested, the workers are without leadership, begin to starve and return to work. The capitalist has won out. The situation calls for better and stricter organization of the working class.

In America, state and capitalism were in a similar relationship, at least in the eyes of the sociologist who took the side of the workers. The tremendous social changes of the '20s, however, made things less simple. Out of the system of private capitalism, social structures developed which were generally termed "state-capitalistic." Russia had replaced the private capitalist by the unlimited power of the state. No matter what terms were applied, it was clear that in the correct sociological terms of Marx *state capitalism had taken the place of private capitalism*. The concept of capitalism is not determined by the existence of individual capitalists but by the existence of market economy and wage labor.

As a result of the world economic crisis of 1929 to 1933, social processes which tended in the direction of state capitalism also set in in Germany and America. The state as an organization above society began to assume an autonomy toward the system of private capitalist enterprise; in part it took over functions which previously had been left to the private capitalist, as seen, for example, in the substitution of social security for private charity; in part, it limited the previously uncon-

trolled profit-making of private capitalism, more here and less there. All this happened under pressure from the masses of wage laborers and employees. In this way, they made their social influence felt. Not, however, by having their *own* organizations take over the administration of social processes, but by exercising the necessary pressure on the state apparatus to induce it to restrict the interests of private capitalism and to safeguard their rights as much as possible.

The revolution in Russia and the economic crisis in other countries had created the need to mobilize the existing state apparatus against possible social disintegration. "The state" emphasized its original function of keeping society together at all costs.

In Germany, this process was obvious: the need for coherence during the severe crisis of 1929 to 1933 was so great that the totalitarian and authoritarian state idea could become victorious with hardly any difficulty. True, society was kept together, but none of the problems which had led to the social crisis was solved. Understandably enough, for the state ideology was incapable of solving any clash of interests factually and practically. This process explains many of the anti-capitalistic measures of fascism which led many sociologists erroneously to consider fascism a revolutionary social movement. Rather, it was a sudden change from private capitalism to state capitalism. In the Göring industries, state capitalism and private capitalism clearly converged into one. Since anti-capitalistic tendencies had always been strong among the German workers and employees, this conversion to state capitalism was possible only with anti-capitalistic propaganda. It was precisely this contradiction which made the victory of fascism the prototype of social irrationalism and thus made it incomprehensible. Since fascism had promised the masses the revolution against private capitalism and at the same time

had promised private capitalism salvation from the revolution, every movement could only become contradictory, incomprehensible and sterile. This explains a great deal of the compulsion which forced the German state apparatus into imperialist war. For within German society there was no rational possibility of bringing about order. The establishment of quiet by way of the police club and the pistol can hardly be called a "solution of social problems." The "unification of the nation," in an *illusory* manner, had succeeded. We have learned to ascribe to processes which are based on illusions an equal if not greater efficacy than to hard reality. One has only to think of the effect of the church hierarchy for thousands of years. Even though not one single actual problem of social living was solved, the illusory unification of the state gave the impression of an achievement. Subsequently, the untenability of such a state solution became clear enough. Society was torn apart more than ever, but, nevertheless, the illusory unification had been sufficient to save German society from formal disintegration for a period of ten years. The *factual* solution of this problem of disruption was left to other, more fundamental processes.

The function of the state of holding together a disrupted society remains the same whether this state calls itself capitalistic or proletarian. What we have to keep in mind is the original intention: The fascist authoritarian state openly adheres to the state idea and with that to the unalterable slave nature of the masses. The proletarian state of Lenin, on the other hand, had the intention of increasingly undermining itself and of establishing self-government. In either case, however, the core of the matter is "state control of production and consumption."

If we remind ourselves of the common denominator, the incapacity of the working masses for social self-government, we understand better the logic of the develop-

ment from private capitalism to state capitalism:

In Russia, the working masses were able to overthrow the old Tsarist state apparatus and to substitute a state apparatus from their own ranks. But they were incapable of progressing to self-government and of assuming responsibility themselves.

In other countries, the formally highly organized working masses were incapable of furthering self-government, ideologically proclaimed as it was, through their own organizations and incapable of really assuming it. For this reason, the state apparatus was forced to take over more and more functions which really belonged to the masses. It assumed them in their place, as it were, as for example in Scandinavia and the United States.

As basically different as the state control of social production and consumption may have become in Russia, Germany, Scandinavia or the United States, there is still a common denominator: the incapacity of the masses for social self-government. From this common basis of a state-capitalistic development follows logically and simply the danger of authoritarian dictatorships. It is left to chance whether a state official is a democratic or an authoritarian representative of the state. Seen from the standpoint of the structure and ideology of the working masses, there is not a single concrete guarantee that state capitalism does not develop into dictatorship. Just for this reason is the emphasis on the role of human character structure and the shifting of the responsibility from man to the processes of love, work and knowledge of such decisive significance in the struggle for true democracy and social self-regulation.

As painful as the fact may be, we are confronted with a human structure as it has developed in thousands of years of mechanistic civilization which expresses itself in social helplessness and a longing for a Führer. The German and the Russian

state apparatus originated in old despotisms. Thus the characterological serfdom of the masses was extremely pronounced in Germany and Russia. In either case, the revolution, with the unerring aim of irrational logic, led to new despotism. In contrast, the American state apparatus originated from groups of people who had escaped European or Asiatic despotism by fleeing to a young country free of oppressing traditions. Only thus can we understand that up to now no totalitarian state apparatus could develop in America, while in Europe every revolution carried out with the slogan of freedom inevitably led to despotism. This is true of Robespierre as well as of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. The dictators of Europe, who base their power on millions, all come from the suppressed strata. This tragic fact contains more material for social study than the comparatively simple facts of despotism under a Tsar or a Kaiser Wilhelm. The founders of the American revolution had to build their democracy from scratch on *foreign* soil. The people who achieved this had all been rebels against English despotism. The Russian revolutionaries, on the other hand, had to take over the totality of all the Russians. The Americans could make a fresh start, the Russians were weighed down by all the old things. Whether the Americans will be able to resist the forces of irrationalism or whether they will succumb to them remains to be seen.

I would like to emphasize the fact that it is not a question here of blaming anybody, but merely of describing developments as they take place on the basis of certain given conditions.

These circumstances may also explain why the Americans, in whom the memory of their own flight from despotism was still alive, had a more sympathetic attitude toward the refugees from the second world war than Soviet Russia, which closed its doors to them. They may also explain

why in the United States the attempts to maintain the old democratic ideals and to progress toward true self-government were so much more vigorous than elsewhere. True, there were many failures and inhibitions caused by tradition; nevertheless, the attempts at true democracy had found their place in America, and not in Russia. It is to be hoped that American democracy will realize thoroughly, and in time, that fascism is not a matter of nationality or party and that it will succeed in mastering the tendency to dictatorship in the people themselves.

Let us summarize briefly the connections between mass structure and state form:

The influence of the character structure of the masses determines the state form, no matter whether it expresses itself by passivity or by activity. It is the mass structure which tolerates and actively supports imperialism, which can overthrow despotisms without being able to prevent new despotisms. It is the mass structure which furthers and supports true democratic endeavors when the state operates in that direction. It releases national revolutionary movements when the true *international* democratic freedom movement fails. It takes refuge in the illusory unity of family, nation and state when democracy fails; but it also carries on the process of love, work and knowledge. Only this mass structure is capable of *implanting in itself the true democratic tendencies of a state administration*, by taking over, piece by piece, the administration "above it" and by learning to execute its function through *its own work organizations*. It does not matter whether the change from state administration to self-government takes place rapidly or gradually; it is better, for everyone concerned, if it takes place organically and without bloodshed. This is possible only if the representatives of the state above society are fully aware of the fact that they are nothing but ex-

ecutive organs of working human society; that they are *make-shift* executive organs, necessitated by the ignorance and misery in which millions of people live; that, strictly speaking, their task is that of good educators, whose aim it is to make independent adults of children. A society striving for true democracy should never lose sight of the principle that it is the task of the state to make itself progressively unnecessary, just as an educator becomes unnecessary after having done his job with the child. Only then will bloodshed become unnecessary; only to the extent to which the state clearly makes itself superfluous is *organic* work-democratic development possible; on the other hand, to the extent to which the state tends to per-

petuate itself, forgetting its educational task, it provokes human society to remind it that it owes its existence to an emergency and that it has to disappear with that emergency. The responsibility—in the good sense of the word—rests with the state as well as the masses. The state must not only further the strongest longings for freedom in the working masses, it has also the task of adding to it the *capacity for freedom*. If it fails to do so, if it suppresses the longing for freedom or even misuses it and obstructs the tendency toward self-government, it proves its fascist character. Then it must be held accountable for all the damages and perils caused by its dereliction of duty.

STUDYING "THE CHILDREN'S PLACE"*

By ELENA CALAS, M.S.

This paper is a study of a small, progressive nursery school in which the attempt is made to allow a child to develop freely in all his functioning, including the sexual. The school follows Wilhelm Reich's pedagogical concepts based on his biological findings and his sex-economic theory. It was founded in October 1944 by its director, Mrs. Lucille Denison, who was trained by Reich. At the time this study was made the school was in its fourth month of existence.

The diary form in which this paper is written was chosen because the writer knew nothing beforehand of her subject and wished to emphasize the study aspect. Thus the project is a record of day-by-day observations at the school, questions raised by the writer and her discussions of these with the director of the school.

January 4, 1945. Mrs. Denison asked me to come down to see her at her home this evening to discuss the possibility of my doing a project based on the study of "The Children's Place," a nursery school which she heads. I knew little about this nursery except that it was very small, had been started only about three months ago and followed Wilhelm Reich's pedagogical concepts based on his theory of sex-economy and his vegetotherapy. In preparation for my interview with Mrs. Denison, I had read Reich's book *THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM* and some articles in *The International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research* published by the Institute of which Reich is director. An article by Dr. Paul Martin, entitled *Sex-economic "Up-*

bringing," explained directly and concisely the application of the principles of sex-economy to pedagogy. Martin states as sex-economic pedagogy's one goal "the development of individuals who are healthy, vital and as capable of love as possible" and "the upbringing should not really be a bringing-up, but a matter of safeguarding to the utmost the child's natural ability to give itself fully in all its functions, particularly to pleasure and activity and to protect the natural self-regulation of all vital actions." This involves treating the child from birth as an individual personality with a way of being all its own, elimination of inhibitions without creating new suppressions (in counter-distinction to orthodox psychoanalytic thought which accepts necessity of sublimation for social adjustment), gratification of the child's need for love, the free expression of infantile sexuality developing into healthy adult sexual functioning throughout life. "What is to us of utmost importance is that the child's pleasure in its own body and its capacity for sexual gratification be not destroyed."

Reich states that the plague of the neuroses is bred during three principal phases of life: in early infancy through the atmosphere of the neurotic parental home; in puberty; and finally in compulsive marriage based on strictly moralistic standards. "Parents—unconsciously at the behest of authoritarian, mechanized society—repress the sexuality of infants and adolescents. . . . In the first phase, much harm is done by strict and premature training for excremental cleanliness and the demand to be 'good,' to show absolute self-restraint and quiet good behavior. These measures prepare the ground for the most important prohibition of the follow-

* *Editor's Note:* This article presents excerpts from a "professional project," in which an original study is to be made and presented in a written report, as a requirement for the Master's Degree at the New York School of Social Work, where the author was a student.

ing period, the prohibition of masturbation. Other restrictions of infantile development may vary, but these are typical. The inhibition of infantile sexuality is the basis for the fixation to the parental home and its atmosphere, the 'family.' This is the origin of the typical lack of independence in thought and action. Psychic mobility and strength go with sexual mobility and cannot exist without it . . . sex-repression is a fact characteristic of education as a whole . . . children thus brought up become character-neurotic adults, and re-create their illness in their own children. In this way, conservative tradition, a tradition which is afraid of life, is perpetuated." An important conclusion of Reich's is that mental hygiene on an individual basis is obviously insufficient, and that if society is to be helped out of its neurotic misery, extensive social measures for the prevention of neuroses must be undertaken.

I must mention two other concepts of Reich's as they are indispensable to the understanding of his pedagogical approach: *youth's need to "fight"* and *man's "natural goodness."*

"Self-regulation follows the natural laws of pleasure; it is not only compatible with *natural* instincts, but, rather, functionally identical with them. Moral regulation creates a sharp, insoluble conflict, that of nature versus morals. Thus it increases instinctual pressure, which in turn necessitates increased moral defense. . . . The individual with a moral structure appears to follow the rigid laws of the moral world; in fact, he only adjusts outwardly and rebels inwardly. Thus he is exposed in the highest degree to an unconscious compulsive and impulsive anti-sociality. The healthy self-regulating individual does not adjust himself to the irrational part of the world and insists on his natural rights." And "The function of youth at any time is that of representing the *next* step of civilization. . . . Youth has to *fight* for its capability for progress . . . the inhibiting

factor is always the older generation's fear of youth's sexuality and fighting spirit."

"I have been accused of harboring the utopian idea of a world in which I would eliminate unpleasure and have nothing but pleasure. This is contradicted by my repeated statements that education, as it is, makes the human incapable of pleasure, by *armoring him against unpleasure. Pleasure and joie de vivre are inconceivable without fight, without painful experiences and without unpleasurable struggling with oneself.* . . . What characterizes psychic health, [is] the alternation of painful struggle and happiness, of error and truth, of mistake and reflection upon it, of rational hatred and rational love, in brief, full vitality in all possible situations of life. The capacity of tolerating unpleasure and pain without fleeing disillusioned into a state of rigidity, goes hand in hand with the capacity to take happiness and give love."

First of all, I wanted to know if the nursery was set up primarily as a demonstration center or primarily as a therapeutic and pedagogic institution for the particular children in its care. Mrs. Denison explained that both purposes were served but that work with the particular children was of primary importance. Visitors in their professional capacity came to the school and were welcome as it was hoped that interest in sex-economic theory and methodology would spread. At present the main problem was the locating of adequate staff and the training of teachers. Teachers with a traditional professional background are generally unable to function in "The Children's Place" and leave after a short period. Persons who have been psychoanalyzed in the orthodox Freudian manner, do not fit in either, as suppression and sublimation of instinctual desires has been accepted by them for the sake of social adjustment. In the course of the nursery's existence—since October 1944—three teachers and two other staff mem-

bers were given a trial appointment and released after two to three months, which is upsetting and difficult for everyone concerned. The permanent staff at present consists of Mrs. Denison herself, Miss Smith, who is being trained as a pre-school teacher by Mrs. Denison and who works with the 2- to 4-year group, and a nurse in charge of the "babies." There are also visiting teachers of art and music. As there are about 20 children in the two age-groups, Mrs. Denison feels she is seriously understaffed. Furthermore, her wish to expand is frustrated by the unavailability of personnel. She is hoping to move to larger and more adequate quarters next year and to extend her work.

My next questions were around the children: On what basis were they selected? Was each child's program individualized as to hours spent daily and length of attendance at the nursery? How were they prepared to fit into a more rigid traditional school after "graduation" from the nursery? How much insight and co-operation was asked of parents? Mrs. Denison told me that there was no selection of children but that due to shortage of teachers a child who needed individual therapy and overtly disrupted the functioning of the group, could not be kept as the present time as there was no possibility of giving it the individual attention it needed. Mrs. Denison feels that all children benefit by sex-economic upbringing and, whatever the length of the experience at the nursery, the child acquires a greater self-confidence which helps in his adjustment to any situation—i.e., he can accept or reject whatever is imposed with regard to his needs. The emphasis is not on facilitating future adjustments but on helping the child's adjustment from a too-authoritarian background. The only children who must be excluded from the school are those whose parents are too authoritative and rigid and cannot at any point accept the methods of the nursery school.

I was still unsatisfied in my understanding of the basis of selection of children, as apparently there had been little difficulty around the parents' acceptance of the concepts underlying the nursery school program, while there had been an outstanding problem in finding an un-rigid staff. In her discussion of this, Mrs. Denison brought out that she had "selected" the neighborhood—Greenwich Village—and that the majority of the parents were artists; this made for a more open-minded group of parents. Mrs. Denison felt that, on the whole, parents dealing with their own child and having his best interests at heart, were more ready to try out new methods of handling than were schoolteachers who, trained to handle children en masse according to some pedagogical theory not based on biological findings, were less apt to have direct contact with the individual child. Mrs. Denison does not require active co-operation from parents and does not face them with any problems until those naturally arise or unless they cannot be handled at the school in the absence of home co-operation.

The last subject under discussion was my project as such. Mrs. Denison told me that her school was too small to allow for observation by a nonparticipating adult. I agreed enthusiastically that I preferred to "work" with the children. Mrs. Denison suggested that I spend from 11 until 2 daily in the nursery, which is the time the largest number of children are in attendance, as it includes the overlapping of the morning and afternoon sessions. My study would be focused on the 2- to 4-age-group.

January 5th. "The Children's Place" is a charming, white-washed, blue-windowed, 2-floor and 2-room house to which one gains entrance through a gate and a yard. The yard has swings, a sand-box and just enough room for tots to run in. On the second floor, which can be reached both by an outside staircase and by one within, are situated the "babies'" quarters and the

kitchen facilities; on the ground floor is the children's playroom and an infinitesimal office carved out of one corner of it. Behind another partition is the children's closet space for wearing apparel. The bathroom has standard-sized fixtures but a kitchen step-ladder stands by the wash-basin. The children's towels and wash-cloths hang on individual hooks under name-labels.

Shelves for toys and nursery books run along two walls; above the shelves the wall-space is decorated with almost life-size paintings of running children with armfuls of flowers. Drawings by the children hang on the opposite wall next to the "bulletin board." There is an upright piano in a corner, and a drum and gourds. There are gaily decorated tiny chairs, a low, long table covered with red oilcloth, and a couple of smaller tables.

The toys appeared to me to be of the usual variety for 2- to 4-year-olds, sturdy and unbreakable: some of cloth but mostly of wood: blocks, trains, hammering-boards, dolls, animals, buckets and balls.

The children appeared to accept my presence easily after I had been introduced to them by Mrs. Denison, though one little girl expressed objection to my name, saying I should be called "Rose"—possibly because of the color of the sweater I was wearing. The children were willing to play with me very soon after I came in. I was impressed by their spontaneity and self-confidence: They asked for assistance from me in their climbing, carrying of water and unbuttoning to go to the toilet.

During this first day, I paid careful attention to Mrs. Denison's and Miss Smith's handling of the children and their way of dealing with situations as they arose, not only because this was what I had come to observe, but also because I was anxious to pick up *what not to do* with the children. At the end of my period of "observation," I jotted down the following situations and their treatment:

Billy and Errol had splashed water at each other, Billy getting the worst of the deal and complaining that his collar was wet. Miss Smith said to Errol: "Billy is wet; can you help me dry him?" and the two little boys followed her peacefully into the bathroom.

The children were seated, spoons in hand, but lunch was detained. A couple of children began banging their spoons against the table, the rest joined in with vigor and the noise was head-splitting. Mrs. Denison came over to them and said she had a good idea how to bring Virginia (the maid) and lunch. She started chanting in a rather low voice: "Virginia, where is our dinner?" and the children followed her joyfully and in the same pitch. After a while, as lunch still did not appear, Mrs. Denison changed her chant to: "Virginia, do we have palm-leaves for dinner?" etc. (which came from a book concerning what animals eat), the children chanting back the appropriate "no" or "yes." At the sight of the contents of their dinner plates, most of the children began to exclaim that they did not like stewed tomatoes or cauliflower or liver, etc. Mrs. Denison interrupted with: "I don't want to be told what you don't like, just don't eat it!" Actually she did use encouragement to eat in the cases of a couple of children who were coming out of eating neuroses—those she spoon-fed. The children who had emotional problems around feeding were not persuaded, Mrs. Denison simply stating: "You'll be hungry later on."

The children are not asked to take naps, with the exception of two little girls who get over-tired and need it. Mrs. Denison was unable to get 3-year-old Martha to go upstairs (to the "babies'" quarters) for her nap, so she arranged a folding cot in the corner of the playroom and placed screens around it. The child had promised to sleep if left downstairs, and did so.

Two-year-old Marietta, who has a compulsive wish to wash her hands endlessly,

was finally carried off bodily from the wash-basin with the explanation: "Your hands are clean, you don't need to wash, but the others must have a chance."

Destructive aggression against herself was thus dealt with by Mrs. Denison: Billy: "I'll knock you over!" Mrs. Denison: "Well, go ahead and try. I'm ready for you, go ahead." Billy: "No!" "Shall I knock you over then?" "Yes." Mrs. Denison does so in fun.

Destructive aggression towards another child was treated thus: "Suppose I did it to you, you would not like it, would you, and Suzy does not like it when you do it to her."

In answer to my question, Mrs. Denison told me that certain things were forbidden the children—for example, going upstairs, opening staff's closet, playing with wearing apparel, throwing sand out of sand-box, but that in each case specific reasonable explanations were given.

January 6th. Mrs. Denison had a few moments to give me, so I asked how a specific child—in this case little Marietta, whom I was particularly interested in because of her compulsive hand-washing and screaming—happened to come to the nursery and what did the nursery experience give her? Mrs. Denison told me that Marietta's mother was looking around for a nursery school, not even necessarily a "progressive" one but that the ones she applied to had no openings. Someone told her of a new nursery, "The Children's Place." Mrs. Denison had an opening and accepted Marietta. In answer to further questions, Mrs. Denison said that the mother did not see any problems in the child and that it was not in Mrs. Denison's practice to confront parents with problems unless necessary. I wondered about the mother's apparent rigidity, basing this on the symptom of the child's compulsive hand-washing, and a sentence written on Marietta's application that recent environmental changes "have resulted in a much less-dis-

ciplined and reasonable attitude than that I was accustomed to expect from her." Mrs. Denison said that actually Marietta's mother was not too rigid. Marietta herself has gained quite a bit from being at the nursery; at present she gets along much better in the group of children and she is easier to handle at home. Her mother had originally placed her for the morning period only but has recently extended her attendance until 3 P.M. as "it is doing her so much good." Mrs. Denison has had no regular conference with the mother, but speaks to her often when she is calling for the child and then gives her hints on how to relax her handling.

The handling of one situation particularly interested me today. Four-year-old Billy was brought in from the yard where he had dropped a rock on his foot. Mrs. Denison took off his shoe and sock. Billy said: "I was very brave, it hurt a lot, but I did not cry." Mrs. Denison said gently: "Sometimes it helps to cry." Then she said: "Shall I kiss it to make it feel better?" and did so. Billy was then ready to return to the yard. I asked Mrs. Denison about her using a technique which seemed to me "too childish" for the kind of little boy Billy is. Mrs. Denison said that this approach would hold true of a child of any age as it combined reassurance that nothing was seriously wrong with an emotional response to the "hurt." I was aware that if I had been faced with comforting the child, along with expression of emotional response, I would have given him recognition on the level he asked for it—that of the ego-ideal. Later, Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that in response to her "Shall I kiss it to make it feel better?" Billy said "Yes" and so she did it; if he had said "No," he would not have required it and Mrs. D. would not have kissed him.

January 7th. I asked Miss Smith if I were right in assuming that encouragement by reward was dispensed with. Miss Smith told me that the usual use of rewards was

eliminated because a child needed to gain pleasure from the activity itself, rather than to desire a reward for what it was doing. As far as humanly possible, a child should never be forced. Miss Smith emphasized that the one commandment to be obeyed by every teacher and parent was Neill's: "Thou shalt be on the side of the child." This concept was illustrated a few minutes after my arrival by a situation involving two-year-old Amy. Amy had wet herself earlier in the morning, had been changed into another child's extra clothes, and now that her own underwear was dry, Miss Smith was changing her back into her own things. Watching Amy's undressing, four-year-old Irma said scornfully: "Oh, Amy wetted herself. I never, never do that." Miss Smith's answer was: "Oh, but we all do sometimes." "I don't ever," insisted Irma. "Well, that's nice; but Amy can't help it and it's all right to wet."

Martha was difficult in her aggressiveness today—something must have taken place over the weekend, Miss Smith thought. She was particularly hostile towards little Amy, thrusting her fingers into the younger child's eyes, biting and pushing her. Miss Smith carefully watched any arising situation so as to deal with it in the proper time. At lunch Martha's aggressiveness led to a last warning: "If you hit her again, you must leave the table and eat alone." Martha did hit out once again, at which point Mrs. Denison carried her off forcibly to another table, Martha loudly crying the while. As soon as she was put down on a chair on the opposite side of the room, Martha ran to a book-shelf and said she wanted to be read to from a book she had snatched. Mrs. Denison joined her, saying: "Aren't you just escaping from something you don't like?" She then held the child, asking: "Why did you hit Amy?" After a while Martha said: "She pushed me before." Mrs. Denison brought the two children together, helped them agree they "were

quits" and that they would no more attack one another. Later, in the yard, when I was alone with Martha and Amy, I saw Martha push Amy hard off a "sliding-board." I asked Martha why she did it. Martha said: "But Amy pushed me off before." As I had not taken my eyes off the two children, I knew it was not true, but I did nothing but comfort Amy as I did not know how to deal with the situation.

In a later discussion, Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that the second episode gave the impression that Martha was also lying the first time, which might be true and Mrs. Denison was aware of it at the time. However, in her talk with Amy and Martha, she gave no reproach to either child, merely talking about not hitting each other and since those two children fight frequently, the remarks could have applied to the specific or the general situation.

January 8th. I asked Miss Smith if Martha needed and was given more protection than the other children. I referred to yesterday afternoon when some new toys arrived, among them two ironing-boards; while Martha had an ironing-board and iron all to herself for the remainder of the afternoon, the other children took turns with the other. Miss Smith said it was not a case of special protection, but that as the child was disturbed and destructive, she was given special attention to comfort her. I wondered if Neill's concept of giving approval and reward following "misdeeds," based on the fact that "adult approval means love to every child, whereas disapproval means hate," was put into practice at "The Children's Place." Miss Smith said that it was.

Five-year-old Lita was a new child to me as she had been absent the last week. I was alone in the nursery with the children, when Lita began climbing the forbidden steps to the second floor, other children starting in to follow her example. I reminded Lita that this was forbidden

and asked her to come down, to which she paid no attention. I went to Miss Smith. She said that Lita was sometimes difficult as she liked being naughty. Miss Smith spoke to Lita, explaining why the stairs were forbidden; then as Lita did not descend, Miss Smith went after her and carried her down. Miss S. immediately followed this up by suggesting a piggy-back ride to Lita, who accepted this enthusiastically.

Mrs. Denison was busy looking for a speaker for the next parent-teacher meeting. She told me she has a meeting each month and two have already taken place. The first one was devoted to readings from Neill's *THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL*, with a follow-up of valuable discussion, the second to talks by the music and art teachers on children's expression through music and art, respectively. (I have failed to mention those "lessons," each twice weekly.) The parents on the whole showed interest.

I took the opportunity to ask Mrs. Denison if, theoretically, more work with the parents was desirable in order to give them insight into their child's problems, modify handling and secure full co-operation. Mrs. Denison said decidedly so. The only reason individualized work with both parents and children was curtailed or omitted, was that at present Mrs. Denison had absolutely no time left for it.

January 10th. I was able to handle Lita! We were in the yard where she unearthed somewhere a flower pot. She threw it against the sliding-board, chipping it, and, unheeding me, was preparing to throw it again. I took hold of her and the pot, showed the sharp chipped edge, explained that if flower pot broke, sharp pieces would litter the yard and might cut any child who fell. Lita accepted this and my subsequent suggestion to "throw real hard" a ball at me, thus starting a vigorous ball game.

Irma's refusal to eat is treated by allowing her not to eat. This four-year-old has

scarcely eaten since her parents' divorce five months ago, which resulted in a serious emotional disturbance for her, and she is white and wan looking. Since her coming to the school a month ago, her mother has co-operated in refraining from making an issue of eating. Irma as a rule sits down to table with the other children, drinking maybe some milk or taking a spoonful of dessert, but today she refused to sit down to table at all. Moving about the room and from one activity to another, she kept trying to attract attention to herself by asking questions. Mrs. Denison gave as answers: "We can't talk to you now, we're all busy eating." I wondered why the situation was treated thus, rather than giving Irma "approval and reward." In this connection I referred to other incidents when children's kicking, biting, etc., was not approved of. Mrs. Denison said that in general antisocial acts were followed by the giving of love which the child needed. The concept underlying the "giving of reward" for misdeeds is that a child attempts to compensate for emotional deprivation through antisocial acts and thus treatment is a response to the child's need for love. Biting, kicking, etc., were direct expressions of destructiveness and, depending on cause and intensity, did or did not call for extra love and approval for the child. The important point was that each case needed to be understood and treated, according to the needs of the particular child—i.e., individually.

At this time, as yet, no definite rules have been formulated for treatment of different symptomatic behavior; much experimental work still needed to be done before one could answer with assurance how each situation should be treated.

During lunch, another treatment of a situation attracted my attention. Mrs. Denison said to a child who was throwing bread on the floor: "It hurts me to see it because bread is good food; don't do it again." I wondered what difference there

was between this, presumably an emotional appeal and the forbidden "Do it to please Mother" approach. Mrs. Denison pointed out that the difference lay in that her words and manner did not threaten loss of love.

January 11th. I was invited to attend the weekly staff meeting. Present were: Mrs. Denison, Miss Smith, the art teacher and the babies' nurse. Part of the discussion was around kitchen and play equipment needs and part around the problems of specific children, involving both theoretical understanding and practical handling of them. There was a free give-and-take of thinking on each problem between Mrs. Denison and her staff. Everyone knew and was interested in every child regardless of his age-group.

The first problem to receive attention was Irma's not eating. Mrs. Denison asked if anyone had a suggestion how to get the child to eat in the meantime before Mrs. Denison has had time to work out her feelings therapeutically. Suggestions crystallized into a plan to have Irma sit down to lunch at a separate table with Mrs. Denison, of whom she is very fond. This special attention would be a satisfaction to the child and might bring about a relaxation of the tension which was preventing her from eating. The possibility of talking to her mother and persuading her to let the child stay at school all day was considered and agreed to in view of Irma's invariable tears at the time of departure. Mrs. Denison will plan for a conference with the mother.

Biting was next discussed, both theoretically and in relation to specific children, including one of the babies. Mrs. Denison pointed out that, as in any other expression of destructiveness, the important thing is to find out why, fundamentally, has the child got the need? The best way to relax the child's tension is to take the child on one's knee and give him gentle loving. The biting need can be released safely by

making of it a game and substituting a washcloth to bite on, much on the idea of letting a puppy tug harmlessly at some bit of cord. Biting of another child, if it cannot be averted in time, should be handled by saying in the proper tone of voice—i.e., with feeling: "Don't do it, it *hurts*," which would connect with his natural understanding of hurt and not his secondary sadistic desire.

In the case of hitting, the other child should be encouraged to retaliate in kind, rather than to harbor hurt feelings, but in the case of biting this is undesirable from the point of view of the practical handling of the group of children.

The difficulty of handling Lita was brought up. Mrs. Denison spoke of the rigidity of Lita's parents. She does not plan to work with this child individually as it would be impossible to help her to any great extent while her care is shared with narrow-minded, unco-operative and punishing parents. I wondered why Mrs. Denison kept Lita on in view of the home versus school conflict. Mrs. Denison felt there was no real conflict as long as she refrained from working with the child therapeutically and that Lita was happy in school.

January 12th. Today was a perfect day from Mrs. Denison's point of view, less so from mine as there was little call for handling of situations due to the fact that the children played peacefully with hardly any tears or destructive gestures. In part, this may have been due to the small number of children in attendance and the absence of Lita, Irma and some of the other more difficult children. Also, several new trains had been purchased so that there were enough for all: trains had been the biggest bone of contention up to the present.

Typically one budding conflict was handled and resolved smoothly: Martha had been on the rocker for quite a long while. Terry, temporarily losing interest

in his train, wanted a turn on the rocker. He pushed and pulled Martha, who hit out at him determinedly until Terry started in wailing. Mrs. Denison explained to Martha that she had occupied the rocker for a long time and now Terry wanted his turn. To Martha's repeated "No," Mrs. Denison asked Terry to wait a while as Martha would soon be through, then suggested that Martha rock while she counted to 10, after which Martha would have had enough and Terry's turn would come. After the count was completed, Martha rocked a bit longer, then was willing to climb down. When Terry, from the rocker, saw that Martha now took possession of his train, he objected vigorously. Mrs. Denison pointed out that Terry could not use both toys at once and that he and Martha were taking turns at both. Terry forsook the rocker and, as a result, Martha put down the train, both children returning to their original occupations contentedly.

January 13th. The use of discipline was illustrated today. Lita behaved badly at lunch; she was noisy, demanding, jumped up with her plate and finally threatened to throw the plate. Miss Smith said: "Lita, you know, here we sit at table while we eat. Do you want to go home?" Miss Smith said this emphatically and Lita quickly answered she did not want to go home. "Well, then you'll have to behave the way we all do here," Miss Smith added. I had noticed the use of this technique "Do you want to go home?" on previous occasions when a child was deliberately naughty and later I asked Miss Smith about it. Putting it in question form did away with a too authoritarian approach as it gave the child a choice of action: to behave or go home. It worked because no child wanted to go home.

Amy deliberately knocked down onto the floor a row of trains which Mrs. Denison had just finished stacking onto a shelf to clear the room a bit before lunch. Hold-

ing and guiding Amy's hand, Mrs. Denison made her pick the trains up one by one. Amy did not protest as she knew she had deliberately been naughty, Mrs. Denison later explained to me.

Billy was playing "telephone man" with a long cord which he wound all about himself and around his neck. During his consequent vigorous playing, the cord tightened dangerously around his neck. Miss Smith caught hold of him, easing the pressure on neck with her fingers, then started with my help to disentangle him. Despite kicking, wailing, etc., the cord was unwound and taken away from Billy. Miss Smith repeatedly gave the explanation that the cord was taken away because it could hurt him, but for all the wailing the child persisted in, the cord was not returned to him.

Miss Smith told me that because of the mess, the children are to be discouraged from playing with water in the bathroom and that it must not be carried into the playroom. Even Marietta's compulsive hand-washing will now be controlled. Marietta has been given the opportunity during the last weeks to spend as much time as she wanted at the wash-bowl; now she will be handled by the statement, "Your hands are clean, you do not need to wash any more."

January 15th. Amy has been wetting the last couple of days. In answer to gently-put questions, Amy says she wets because she wants to. Mrs. Denison explained to me that the child wets "to tease her mother," both wetting on the way home and telling her mother of previous wettings. Amy has a strong need to be the center of attention and gains it in this manner as at home a fuss is made around her wetting.

The giving of special attention device worked out wonderfully with Irma. As decided at staff meeting, Mrs. Denison today asked Irma to eat with her in the office. Irma ate all her own food and some

from Mrs. Denison's plate and drank three glasses of milk. Purpose of food rejection became evident during the meal as Irma talked spontaneously and freely. Eating, in her mind, is associated with some strong emotions on the part of the adults with whom she sits at table. Since she had no comprehension of those emotions, she became overwrought at feeding time and was unable to eat. Irma told Mrs. Denison: "They all sit and eat together and B. goes to bed with P., M. goes to bed with J. and L. sleeps with A." This represented a complete confusion of partners, which might have been a correct insight on the part of Irma. Mrs. Denison pointed out that this was merely a hypothesis based on the knowledge of love-conflict in the family.

Having released her anxiety, Irma was a different child after lunch; she was rosy, played happily, and was remarkably generous to the other children. Later in the afternoon, Irma masturbated lying on the floor. She did not use her hands, but tried to obtain satisfaction through mechanical pelvic movements. Mrs. Denison said she was following position and motion observed in parents' intercourse, Irma having revealed that she had seen her father "doing it this way." Mrs. Denison has spoken to her about fuller gratification obtained by use of hand, but the child is evidently still inhibited.¹

January 18th. I could not help wondering whether opportunity for conflict in a child's mind was not created by differential handling at the school at the hands of Mrs. Denison and the three young women who have been coming in to help with the children for a couple of hours daily in response to a recent advertisement in a newspaper. I had heard one of them admonishing a child: "You're a big boy, you should not hit little girls," etc.

Another time, the door of the bathroom was closed firmly behind a child, the helper staying outside, saying: "We go to the bathroom with the door closed; you call me when you're through." In the case of Irma, a helper tried by irrelevant questions to distract her from masturbation. Today a helper said to Marietta in the course of playing "tea party": "Say please when you ask for the sugar, and thank you when I've handed it to you." I am aware that both in the case of parents and workers with the children (including myself), Mrs. Denison prefers to give explanation and interpretation as situations arise and call for them; nevertheless, I will be interested to discuss this with her specifically in relation to the workers.

January 22nd. In answer to my questioning, Mrs. Denison told me that the three young workers had been selected by her from about 40 girls who had responded to her newspaper ad. She wishes to experiment with another group than the traditionally-trained nursery school teachers; apart from this, she judged applicants purely individually on the basis of the likelihood of their fitting into the framework of "The Children's Place" and being genuinely warm persons interested in children. Of the three helpers selected, one is an art student, another has done some theatrical work, the third helps her husband run an art gallery. Mrs. Denison told me she had two preliminary talks with each, during which she gave some orientation as to point of view and method of handling, covering such questions as the amount of freedom given to children, handling of destructive aggression towards other children and the attitude towards bathroom, thumb-sucking and masturbation. After this, situations or noticed mishandling are discussed as they take place—always privately. Mrs. Denison particularly stressed one point: many persons can accept theoretical concepts which they find hard or impossible to abide by in practice due to

¹ *Editor's Note:* This child, under the name of Jenny, is more fully discussed in Mrs. Denison's article (*infra*, p. 173 ff.).

own conditioning and inhibitions. This is why she has had a turnover of workers.

Mrs. Denison added that in the case of training of permanent teachers, such as Miss Smith, for example, she gives them limited responsibility to begin with, maybe a couple of children for a certain time period, then gradually increases the responsibility. The best results are obtained by observation of Mrs. Denison, by asking her questions as situations arise. Mrs. Denison sometimes spends evenings discussing theory and methodology with Miss Smith.

In answer to my wondering as to the possibility of conflict being set up in a child's mind as the result of the same type of situation being handled differently by the new workers and the trained staff, Mrs. D. said that mishandling of a situation can occur only once or twice before it comes to her attention. She then discusses the matter with the worker and gives her the privilege of amending her error in a similar situation with the same child. This involves specific rectification as, for example, in the situation observed by me when the teacher said: "We go to the bathroom with the door closed," the teacher would say at the next opportunity, "You know, I made a mistake last time, we don't have to close the door when we go to the bathroom. It just does not matter." A child knows it is perfectly permissible to make a mistake and, when it is admitted and not repeated, no harm is done. In Mrs. D.'s experience, in general, the fallacious method is not used again by the worker. Mrs. D. prefers to instruct teachers on the basis of practical experience rather than fill them with "classroom theory." This too is, of course, necessary but Mrs. D. believes that theoretical instruction should arise from direct contact with the children and their functioning.

I had been wanting to discuss with Mrs. Denison the practical application of the principle of self-regulation. Both from my

reading and observation, I knew that all activities called for self-regulation rather than being regulated from outside by an adult. The range of activities included: eating, sleeping, toileting, thumb-sucking, masturbation, play, etc. In other words, a child had as much freedom as possible in his activities, in terms both of selection and content. In relation to eating, Miss Smith had previously told me that though therapeutically any eating behavior was acceptable, in practice this was impossible to allow in a group, as it involved spilled food, breakage of dishes, messing-up of playroom, drawn-out meal periods, annoyance and distraction to those children who wanted to eat. To a lesser extent than in the area of eating, other activities were sometimes adult-regulated: toileting of some of the children who wet, playing with water, getting properly clothed before going to play in the yard, washing of faces and hands before going home.

Mrs. Denison pointed out to me that if the children had been brought up from infancy in the self-regulatory manner, much regulation by adults at this stage of their development would be unnecessary. Meal-time behavior is particularly difficult due to home associations. On the other hand, the rights of adults must also receive consideration.

I have had ample opportunity to observe that the children do have great freedom in their activities. When a child comes in from the yard because he feels cold or for some other reason, he is asked whether he wants to warm up and go out again later or whether he wants to be undressed and stay indoors. A child can refuse to nap or to eat or to take part in any group activity. Actually the children eat exceedingly well, habitually asking for a second or third portion of the main course or of any part of it which they particularly like.

Having in mind two-year-old Marietta who gets tired out in a group of older children, and at the opposite extreme,

four-year-old Billy, whose vigorous activity brings him into conflict with the younger children and who could use more physical outlets for his vitality and physical energy than the common playroom provides, I asked Mrs. Denison if, theoretically, division by age-groups was desirable. Mrs. Denison likes the idea of no division, but if the group is large enough, separation for certain periods during the day may be desirable; the grouping would not follow chronological age but rather the level of the child's physical and emotional development. I wondered if an adult would be assigned to a specific group of children (as practiced by Anna Freud). Of necessity there would be some division of responsibility among the adults, but theoretically there is no call for this. If a child needs to form a special relationship with an adult, it will come out in relation to one of the teachers—this is covered by the concept of self-regulation. Unless a child is neurotic, he is satisfied by the freely given love of the several adults around him and does not need to focus on one.

January 26th. Fascinating to observe is Mrs. D.'s use of the device of "making a game of it." She is able to change into joyful activity any conflict-burdened situation and aggressive needs. Today, Terry, a very difficult little boy with a strong need to possess (Terry is the one who constantly creates conflict by wanting to have all the trains), objected with vigorous hysterical wailing to Mrs. D.'s lending his rubbers to Stewart. As Terry never wanted to play in the yard and as Stewart wanted to go outdoors at this time but had refused to do so earlier when the rest of the group was being dressed and whose own rubbers had been put on a child who had come without any, Mrs. D. was now confronted with Terry's stubborn selfishness and Stewart's equally vigorous insistence on having back his own rubbers. Mrs. D. said, "You are very selfish, Terry; both of you make so much fuss over such nonsense." Her tone

of voice arrested the children's attention and immediately following this, she continued in a playful sing-song fashion to repeat over and over again with changing intonations: "You make so much fuss over such nonsense" until both children joyfully joined in, forgetting all conflict.

I have been able to use this device successfully on quite a few occasions. While waiting for lunch and already seated at table, Lita kept hitting out at her neighbor and encouraging, by her example, hitting all around the table. Unable to stop her in any other way, I picked up Lita and her chair, lifted her high a couple of times, then put her back in her place, saying "It's fun to go high in the air on your chair"; the other children immediately joined in the refrain and hitting was forgotten. Another time, while waiting for lunch, Amy kept pulling Jill's hand until Jill was in tears; to me Amy said: "I love Jill, I *want* to hold her." Catching Amy's hand, I said: "Don't pull her hand, it *hurts*, hold it gently, like this." Amy and I held hands gently, then I said: "Now pull mine and it will *hurt*." Then Amy wanted her hand pulled, following which all the children asked to have their hands held gently and for comparison pulled, which I did to an appropriate refrain.

As discussed at staff meeting, children's biting has been handled by making a game of it: "Let's all bite like puppy-dogs" on a towel or doll's blanket or anything handy. Mrs. D. feels that this method of release of muscular jaw tension can be resorted to occasionally without the need for it being precipitated by biting. Apart from biting, if children are noisy and destructive, it is helpful to introduce a violent game which will release their tension. If muscular tension appears to be in the child's arms, one should engage him in a "fight": "Come on, let's fight, try harder"; if muscular tension is primarily in the legs, as expressed by kicking, one can introduce a play involving pulling at the child's legs strongly.

Observing techniques as I have been doing, I have failed to emphasize that quite apart from her skills, Mrs. D. gains the desired response by her ability to enter the child's world, to be spontaneously always on the side of the child. It is easy enough to describe or learn the how, what and when of handling children, but it is impossible to repeat intonations of voice or quality of touch which only warm love and sensitive understanding can give. I was particularly aware of this today. In the latter part of the afternoon, the children became restless and quarrelsome, possibly due to tiredness. I was alone with them and quite at the end of my ingenuity for no sooner had I handled one situation than crying or fighting would start in another corner. Mrs. D., who had been busy in the office, came to take charge. A few minutes later, she was acting out on a table the part of a rebellious child whose mother was forcing him to go to bed: she wailed, jumped up, asked for drinks of water, thumb-sucked, etc., to the children's vast glee and hilarity.

Then Mrs. D. stopped her play in order to get Irma dressed for leaving. Irma's father was calling for her (Irma is the child of separated parents who lives with her mother but adores her father whom she seldom sees). Irma became tense, overwrought, near-hysterical. There is no way to describe the quality of voice and touch with which Mrs. D. prepared Irma for her father, combing her hair to "be specially pretty" and whispering, "I know how you feel, Irma."

January 29th. I asked Mrs. D. if I was right in assuming that no special emphasis was placed on the "mental" development of the child and that no so-called educational toys were provided with this in view. Mrs. D. does have some educational games but those remain mostly in the drawers as the children have no interest in them. Mrs. D. feels that children do not need imposed activities; all that is needful

is to allow each child to develop in his own way. In this connection, Mrs. D. pointed out the importance of a child being free from fear: a child gains naturally in dexterity through handling of objects if he is not inhibited by fear and thus rendered stiff. If free of fear he does not need to learn dexterity through adult-imposed activities. I had observed an example of this "stiffness" just yesterday: Melissa, a new and very attractive little girl, joined in dancing in the circle of children but her legs moved woodenly, her gestures were tentative and she was unable to fall on the floor when the song called for this, with the gay abandon of the other children.

In view of the fact that Mrs. D. was not interested in artificially stimulating the growth of the children, in "teaching" them and having them "learn," I wondered why she selected to call "The Children's Place" a nursery school rather than just plain nursery or any other appropriate term. Mrs. D. said the children were learning the most important thing—they were learning to live. Each child was being helped to work out his own individual problems in a group setting.

I am aware that this learning to live is a process that receives continued attention at "The Children's Place" and is the basis for the handling of children in every situation. It would seem to me that the concept of equal rights—i.e., respect for others' rights and feelings in combination with the ability to stand up for oneself—is one of the most emphatically and consistently stressed. Into this area would fall many approaches to handling situations which I have already mentioned piecemeal: one cannot hit with impunity as the other child is then helped to hit back; one cannot take away toys from another child as the question is immediately put, "Who had it first? Well then, you must wait till he gets through and then you can have your turn"; or if there is a good deal of tension about this, consideration is given to "who needs it

most"; one child cannot annoy another child as an intervening adult will say, "She does not like that, how would you like me to do it to you?" and playfully follow this out. Wherever possible, use of authority is excluded and the child is given a choice: "You can have the stick back, if you do not hit Stewart again, which do you want? I can't give you the stick if you are going to hit Stewart but if you think you won't, you can have it." Yet on few occasions authority is used as when a child wilfully throws all the blocks about the playroom, in which case he is made to gather them up again; on the couple of occasions when I saw this happen, the child became resistive and tense. But this involves protection of the rights of the adults who otherwise must need gather up the blocks. To a child who persistently annoys her by wilful misbehavior or who hits her, Mrs. D. reacts spontaneously by expressing her displeasure.

The learning to live becomes apparent when you hear children use among themselves the approach of the adult: "You *hurt* him, kiss it and make it feel better," "He had it first, you wait till he's through" and "Now I'm through, do you want it?" and the charming "I did not mean to, may I kiss you?" Of course not all the children respond equally, but according to their needs and depending on their emotional adjustment at any given time. When Martha happened to kick me today and I said "You hurt me," she answered shyly but looking me straight in the face, "I did not mean to, I like you." Whereas Billy, who had previously kicked me much harder after I had warned him many times to desist from throwing blocks around, only giggled and ran in circles after my exclamation of pain.

February 3rd. I actually observed a complete art period for the first time today as I had missed (because of my hours of attendance) the first half of the earlier regular art periods with the art teacher and

also I had not wanted to be a disturbing factor by close observation. Due to bad weather, the children were unable to play in the yard and at a certain point in the early afternoon, sensing a general restlessness and aimlessness, Miss S. introduced the suggestion: "Who would like to paint?" to which the children responded enthusiastically. Newspapers were laid on the floor, then the children were paired off according to their own choice of painting partner, and each pair of children received a set of bottles of paint between them. Paper distributed, the children started off painting vigorously. No suggestions whatsoever were made by the adults, but Miss S. followed the work in progress, asking the individual children what they were drawing. If the answer gave any clue to what was on the child's mind or was in any way revealing and interesting, Miss S. wrote it unobtrusively on the corner of the painting. But most of the time the children repeated the answer given by another child, playing with the words without giving them any significance. For example, after one of the children exclaimed "I'm painting a green crocodile," all the others took this up as a kind of refrain with no regard to the color or form of own compositions.

Adult interference was limited to dealing with quarrels and splashing paint on one another. Miss S. had begun by prohibiting smearing paint on hands and face and using fingers in place of brushes, but Mrs. D. relaxed this prohibition. Later, when washing off paint from hands and faces, Mrs. D. repeated to each protesting child: "I would not have to rub so hard if you had not got so much paint on you. If you don't want me to rub hard, remember not to get so much paint on next time." Theoretically, Mrs. D. believes that children should be allowed to be as messy as they want to with paint, smearing it on themselves and each other, but realistically the question of clothes must be taken into

consideration because of parents' attitudes. As in the case of other activities, there is no intention to "teach" the children, in the sense of encouraging them to greater effort or better accomplishment, the emphasis at all times being solely on the pleasure derived from the activity. Mrs. D.'s common rejoinder is "What fun!" or "Isn't that fun!" (which I very quickly took over).

Enjoyment of natural bodily functions is safeguarded by giving approval, as for example, Mrs. D.'s exclamation "That will be fun" when two little boys expressed their intention of urinating at the same time. This was taken up the following day by all three little boys present who crowded gleefully around the one toilet, to the great interest of some of the little girls. But when the children saw feces in the toilet bowl, they dashed back with exclamations "Oh, that stank, it's nasty," which Mrs. D. combatted with "No, it's good." This was discussed for some minutes, Mrs. D. helping the children to overcome their disgust and take a more natural attitude.

I did not happen to hear any verbal expression of curiosity about sex differences, though some of the children showed their interest in the intent way they watched others urinate. An incident occurred a few days ago which I handled with woeful inadequacy, I am sure, and with the unhappy feeling that due to ignorance I failed the child. Little Marietta, pants already down and impatient, ran into the bathroom where Terry was urinating. But while waiting for her turn, she became absorbed in Terry's performance, edging around to see better. When, after having buttoned up Terry, I looked around, I saw Marietta attempting to assume the little boy's position. Being a very small child, she was of course unable to straddle the toilet and was pressing herself to the bowl in various positions and with a look of frustration. I watched her for a few moments and as

she was holding back her urine, I picked her up, put the toilet-seat down and sat her down, saying as gently as I could, "You don't go to the toilet that way, Marietta, you go this way." Marietta made no sign of protest, nor did she say anything.

I went with this incident to Mrs. D. who told me that I would have been more helpful to Marietta if I had explained that Terry did weewee with his penis which he held over the toilet, while girls did not have a penis, they had a vagina instead and it was more comfortable for them to weewee by sitting on the toilet. I could have illustrated this on Marietta's body. I wondered about the use of the word penis, difficult for a small child. Mrs. D. feels words are not important but she would rather use the right ones as children grasp the meaning anyway. I told Mrs. D. that I had noticed her use of difficult words, in particular the word "escape."

February 5th. I broached the subject which is of particular interest to social workers: case-work in a nursery-school setting. I had been observing work with the children and how individual children were helped to work out their problems. I was not in a position to observe work with the parents apart from occasionally overheard words which Mrs. D. spoke to parents when they were calling for the children. Those words and primarily Mrs. D.'s tone of voice conveyed her approval of and her enjoyment in the child—in other words, she invited the parent to share her attitude to the child. Apart from any verbal encouragement or interpretation given, I believe that no parent could remain uninfluenced by observation of Mrs. D.'s handling of the children.

In answer to my question, Mrs. D. said that case-work with parents is especially difficult as it meant facing them with a point of view which might prove too frightening. Mrs. D. deals with certain things in children which cannot be gen-

erally accepted. To avoid this immediate frightening off, Mrs. D. postpones discussions with parents until they are ready for this and then proceeds slowly, a step at a time. Thus when a mother sees improvement in her child, she is ready to approve of the manner in which he is handled in the school; in answer to her "You've done wonders for my child," Mrs. D. can begin to discuss what has been done and why.

Besides individual talks with the mothers, there are the parents-teachers meetings with general discussions of problems. At the January meeting, Dr. Theodore P. Wolfe, vegetotherapist, sat in on the discussion and answered questions. Mrs. D. remarked on the manner "all parents tried to escape themselves." One could not stress too much the need to proceed a little bit at a time, so that any interpretation given gradually became part of their knowledge.

When the subject of masturbation was introduced, Dr. Wolfe asked a very elementary question: Does every child masturbate? To this some mothers answered in the positive and others in the negative, the latter being under the impression that masturbation is limited to use of the hand and not realizing that children attempt to gain satisfaction through rubbing the genital against furniture, sitting astride, etc. Dr. Wolfe then pointed out that all healthy children masturbate and need to gain satisfaction through this activity which is normal, being the natural sexual expression of children who have not yet attained genital maturity.

Subjects introduced by the mothers were directly concerned with problems they saw in connection with their child. Stewart's mother brought up the question of biting and scratching; she was no longer willing to tolerate Stewart's coming home all scratched up as a result of the assaults of some of the children. Mrs. D. explained to me that the problem did not lie solely in the oral frustration of the children who

did the biting, but in the fact that Stewart was the victim—i.e., why did Stewart allow himself to be bit and scratched? Why did he self-righteously allow himself to be victimized? At "The Children's Place" the children were encouraged to fight back in self-protection; thus it was a case of dealing with Stewart's inhibitions aside from the destructiveness of other children.

The two children who contributed most to Stewart's victimizing were Terry and Martha, whom Mrs. D. was particularly interested in as she had achieved good results in her work with them. Mrs. D. suggested to Stewart's mother that it might be best to take Stewart out of the school if the parents felt so strongly about the situation; she followed this up with an attempt to lead the mother to face the question: "Why was it Stewart who always got hurt?" but the mother escaped from facing the problem from this angle.

Marietta's mother was perturbed by Marietta's too frequent request to be taken to the bathroom. The mother was able to accept that it was an attention-getting device. Mrs. D. then posed the question: Why did the child select to get attention in this particular area, when there were so many other ways to get attention? By implication this meant: the mother gave more attention to this area than to any other. Mrs. D. pointed out to me that Marietta's frequent desire to void was significant also from another angle: that pressure of the bladder is often experienced as a genital sensation.

February 12th. I could, in concluding my observation period, list and possibly group under various headings, techniques used at the school in the treatment of different situations as, for example, those involving destructiveness, possessiveness, attention-seeking, etc., but I feel this would be contrary to the whole dynamic approach of "The Children's Place." When the accepted aim is to help a child by allowing him the freedom to grow naturally, the

emphasis can not be on how and what an adult should do, but on the needs of each child and how best to meet them. Some of those needs and thus the situations to which they give rise would, in the first place, not have been present if the children had, from birth, a self-regulatory upbringing, but in fact, the school receives the children when certain neurotic manifestations are already present.

An elucidation which needs to be added belongs in the area of conflict for the child because of differential handling in the home and school environments. This is the area which admittedly disturbed me and to which I referred frequently. Mrs. D. stressed: if, due to a semi-rigid home-environment, the conflict in the child between authoritarian and self-regulatory upbringing should be too strong, Mrs. D. will work slowly until she believes that the child is prepared to handle himself more freely in day-to-day situations, and then give him the opportunity for further self-regulation.

If one accepts as final the norms of society as it stands today one must necessarily reject some of the concepts of the school as contrary to present-day mores—i.e., if the emphasis is on the necessary moulding of the child to present-day adult reality, one must reject the revolutionary implications of such a point of view in child development. No one who believes in the status quo can avoid resisting the consequences of a sex-economic upbringing of children. Necessarily the accepted

thinking on the authoritative role of family, religion and culture are challenged. However, many people are in conflict in their attitudes to the world today and thus there may be an increasing support for new ideas with a genuine acceptance of their implications.

Whereas the psychoanalytic groups, the English School and the Viennese School are interested in the adjustment of the individual to his society and thus do not specifically imply the need for social reform as such, the sex-economic point of view calls for wide social changes. Children who have been allowed to develop freely in all their functioning, who are free of inhibitions and fear and thus have strong constructive impulses, will want to create a world in which they will be happy and one where constructive impulses can find expression. Whereas psychoanalysis, stressing the importance of the parent-child relationship as basic to normal growth in all societies, aims toward adjustment within the family group, sex-economy minimizes the role of the family as essential to the healthy development of the child and would prevent the child from neurotic family ties. There can be little doubt that a happy experience in "The Children's Place," if prolonged, can create conflict between the usual home and school. The problem here is whether conscious conflict between child and parents may not be preferable to a subsequent internalized conflict due to neurotic inhibitions.

THE CHILD AND HIS STRUGGLE

By LUCILLE BELLAMY DENISON

The Children's Place was an experimental all-day nursery school conducted during the past year for youngsters from ten months to five years of age. The pedagogical approach was based on the biological findings of Wilhelm Reich, under whose training the director of the school became acquainted with sex-economy. Staff members had, in varying degrees, knowledge of sex-economy, the sex-economic schools throughout Europe, and had studied particularly the publications of A. S. Neill and Paul Martin. During the year, as director, I registered approximately forty children. The majority of the parents of these children were professional people, none of whom had any previous experience with the educational theory on which the practice of the school was based. The only entrance restriction maintained was the impossibility of admitting a child who had been brought up in a strictly authoritarian home environment.

Staff meetings and personal conferences with teachers were held as often as necessary. If a teacher was confronted with a specific problem, I would meet with her daily, perhaps several times during the day, until the difficulty of the situation was alleviated. During these talks, not only the children's problems were discussed, but also the character structure of the teacher, her relationship to the children, the parents, the city officials, and associates both within and outside of the school. This was all part of teacher training.

Parent-Teacher meetings were held monthly. Few lectures were prepared. The general form of these meetings was open forum. A wide variety of reactions on the part of the parents toward the school prac-

tice was manifested at these times. If I believed a parent to be antagonistic toward the policies of the school, I suggested that the child be withdrawn, because an irrational conflict might be created in the youngster between school and home. Most often the parent's reaction to such a proposal was: "Yes, I have thought of taking my child out, but whenever I suggest it, the child begs to be allowed to remain at school. Even though I don't agree with you at times, there must be something you have that makes the children love the school so much."

Because it is felt that many stimulating questions arose both during staff and parent-teacher meetings and from the many educators who visited our school, and because it is believed that similar questions are in the minds of many who are interested in specific handling of day-to-day behavior patterns among children, I have attempted here to answer some of these questions as I might answer them in direct conversation, including, also, some of the background for which specific suggestions are offered.

DESTRUCTIVE IMPULSES

Problem: Two and a half year old Arlene wants to hit someone as soon as she comes to school in the morning, and will single out the first available child. As soon as Joan arrives, Arlene begins to bother her in one way or another. This may continue all through the morning. Joan, who is the same age as Arlene, is Arlene's particular target of attack. Arlene seems to love Joan, but is continually repulsed in her efforts to mother Joan, who looks upon these attempts with resentment. In her frustration, Arlene turns against her love object.

Arlene delights in taking toys away from the other children, but I feel it is not so much that she wants the toy as the attention the situation arouses. When Arlene hits, she does not like to be hit back, but that a child will do so if Arlene is the aggressor, seems to make no impression on her. She likes to dress or undress the children, have them sit in her lap, or rock them, but is usually repulsed. She can play very happily by herself or in a group until the urge comes to bother someone.

Since I observed Arlene engaging in these destructive practices upon the first day of her attendance in school, and since in a discussion with our director, I find that Arlene's mother had noticed this behavior since the child was about eighteen months of age, I conclude that some problem at home has been unwisely handled, and, therefore, she can not help being as she is. I do not feel as though I want to punish her, and yet, I am at a loss as to what to do.

Discussion: My first impression of Arlene was that of a well-finished doll who had learned that she was irresistible if she cried ma-ma in just the right tones. She had a false, social smile, and calculated all her movements so that she would make an ever so graceful impression.

From my discussions with the mother, I find that Arlene is a child who has always been the center of attraction. Arlene's father is an actor, her mother is a singer. Arlene has been "taught" to sing, not simple songs which delight a youngster, but difficult arias, completely beyond the interest and comprehension of a child, as an ego-satisfaction for the parents. When Arlene came in, she would repeat, perhaps ten times within half an hour, Good morning Mrs. D., good morning Mrs. D., good morning Mrs. D., merely to attract individual response from an adult. I realized that at home she was the cute little pet of her parents and their friends. At school she was treated as a person in a

group, nothing less, nothing more. Arlene could not bear this situation. She would strike out at the other children whom she observed as sharing the interest of the teacher, interest which she believed should have been directed only toward herself. Arlene soon learned that hitting brought cries from the victim, which then brought the teacher, and in turn brought attention to Arlene. This provided a splendid method: hit, and you will be important. I mention this mechanism as the first that came to my attention in the case of Arlene's hitting difficulty. I will later discuss two other reasons which I feel to be of superior importance.

This mechanism repeated itself at the school for about two weeks, until Arlene found that there were other ways to attract attention, in functioning which also gave her sincere pleasure. When she would put some paint on a piece of paper, somebody would say: "Those colors are fun, Arlene." When she would pick up a new song, the music teacher would give her a favorable comment. When she would help to create a snow man, someone would say: "That's fine." Arlene began to display destructive impulses much less frequently. The improvement increased with her placement in school for full day care instead of partial attendance.

Within the last week, two circumstances occurred simultaneously. Arlene, due to the family's financial situation, has again been placed on the half day school schedule, and her mother is looking for a job. Again, from a new direction, Arlene feels that she does not receive enough attention, although, from what I understand of the home situation, she receives enough of her parents' time to make for satisfaction in a healthy child. However, as is invariably evident, it is not the amount of time spent with a child, but exactly what takes place during this period that is of importance. The visible outcome of this new situation expresses itself in the fact that Arlene is

once again hitting in order to gain attention from adults.

In viewing the entire case, it is my contention that, from the time Arlene was about twenty months old, she had begun to turn against her own pleasure feeling. Arlene, as all other children, enjoyed approval. This approval was not forthcoming in relation to functions that she enjoyed, such as making noises and moving about in rhythms, but was most lavished upon "musical performances," with which she had no real contact. In discussion with the mother, I also discovered that masturbation, a pleasure function in all healthy children, was not approved but considered a necessary evil. All favorable commendation to the child was displayed on an adult level of social behavior. Arlene's pleasure function was in no way considered. Little by little the child lost contact with her natural feelings, and, since they had brought her only lack of satisfaction, because mother in no way understood them and tossed them aside to superimpose something else, Arlene, too, has learned to toss aside activity which once gave her pleasure.

This loss of contact in Arlene is quite apparent in her play and in her love relationships to the other children. In play she reminds one of the neurotic man who takes a job, sticks to it for a few weeks and quits, only to start another job after a short time, and then quit again. In all his positions he may discharge his duties adequately, but he learns nothing of new value, and receives little real pleasure from these experiences. Inbetween jobs he sits at home and annoys his wife, blaming her for all his misadventure. Arlene, too, because she no longer has sincere contact with her natural feelings, does not realize that the difficulty is within herself, but blames her playmates, and, for this reason, as our teacher observed, she will play for a short period, drop her activity, and create a fracas.

Arlene is not receiving the type of love

she needs at home. Parents who demand of their child the sacrifice of natural functioning cannot, *a priori*, be capable of a healthy relationship with their child. Much of Arlene's hitting comes from her dissatisfaction in her love need. Her love for her parents is frustrated and manifests itself in a desire to destroy them. Because she is afraid to hit her mother, on the basis of the reproval that will be forthcoming, she has learned to release her destructive impulse by hitting others, but, with her mother, she employs the goading method. For example: Arlene will urinate when out walking with the mother and laugh about it when she knows the mother is terribly annoyed.

The psychic concept, I want to destroy, because I hate, because I am not allowed to function as I feel, becomes part of the muscular structure of the body, and may be clinically observed in Arlene as a tightness of the musculature of the back and neck. Since this painful tension may be partially relieved by activity of the muscles involved, Arlene will strike out with little or no provocation, in order to receive some release. In her report, our teacher observed: She does not like to be hit back, but, that a child will do so if Arlene is the aggressor seems to make no impression on her. We can therefore understand that Arlene's muscular tension must be quite strong, if, in attempting release, she will enter into a situation which she knows by experience will involve unpleasant consequences. ("Kickers," so often discussed in relation to nursery groups, are those children, who, through a different type of historical background, are found to have muscular leg tensions.)

The most important factor in this whole situation is that Arlene has not been approved in her masturbation, but, from what I can gather in talks with the mother, although no threat or force has been used, diversion was the usual method of handling genital interest. Her mother now

never sees Arlene masturbate at home, nor do I at the school. This would indicate either one of two things. First, Arlene has really ceased her masturbatory efforts, or, secondly, she masturbates in secret. In the first instance she would have already strongly armored herself against her own natural feelings in this respect. In the second instance, natural feeling would be surrounded by guilt and fear, which would produce a lack of complete energy release during attempted masturbation.

The result now commences to become evident. Successful masturbation, which would bring about natural release of tension, is denied Arlene. Tension built up in her musculature (particularly in the back and neck) due to parental rejection of a healthy love relationship with the child, plus, lack of contact with a simple way of being, because all approved actions were those on a superficial level from the child's point of view, are the basic factors in Arlene's hitting out at her playmates. Since, due to the character structure of the parents, as already noted, an alteration of their attitude would be impossible outside of a therapeutic situation, and, since I am convinced these parents would not entertain the idea of treatment, the best we can do is to try to help Arlene at the school.

Arlene feels that she needs special attention, and I agree with her. The common pedagogical treatment of the child who constantly seeks attention is to care for his needs, but to give him as little extra attention as possible. In this way, it is believed that the child will outgrow the need. This treatment is accompanied by the observation that, after a period of time, the child will become much less demanding of attention. Therefore an apparently successful result is achieved. Such children do not overcome their need for attention, instead, they suppress the natural feeling that originally gave rise to the need for attention. The attention demand is, indeed,

thereby lessened; however, natural functioning is lessened, too.

What Arlene needed from the time of birth was approval for natural functions. This was not forthcoming, and the need commenced to manifest itself as a demand for attention, attention for any action that would bring approval. What we must first do for Arlene now, is to give approval, in any rational way possible, with or without provocation on her part, so that the demand will lessen in its insistence. When Arlene hits another child, we must not reprove her. We must produce a reasonable explanation for the victim, and, immediately give Arlene special attention, privately if possible. Take her in a separate room, talk to her, and play games that can give her real enjoyment. Accompany her actions by a normal degree of praise. Hold her in the lap, rock her, fondle her, sing to her. Arlene has constantly displayed a need for such affection, and likes to be rocked for periods of over an hour. Her need for a great deal of affection manifests itself in her giving an excess of affection to her playmates. As observed by our teacher, she does not merely express her love for the children, she bothers them with displays of tenderness. She gives them "too much," as an overcompensation for her own lack. Our teacher has said: Arlene seems to love Joan, but is continually repulsed in her efforts to mother Joan . . . she likes to . . . have them sit in her lap, rock them, but is usually repulsed.

Give Arlene as much active, healthy love as she requires. Give her the lead in conversation. Play-act situations that she tells about. Encourage physical movements best suited to her needs. Under this treatment Arlene may begin to have more contact with feelings she experienced before the necessity to armor arose. She may then complain about the lack of parental co-operation. This should be fully and repeatedly explained to her on the basis that father and mother had never really under-

stood what she wanted, not, perhaps, because they wanted to be mean to her, but simply because they did not know. She should be advised that, perhaps, now, she can make them understand.

In any event, we must now be certain to approve all her natural functions. As an adult patient, during the course of vegetotherapy, will reject a hum-drum position, and enter into creative work, will make every effort to re-establish his relationship with his wife on a basis of new insight, and, may finally be forced to leave her out of his own need for a partner with whom he can function in a healthy manner, so, Arlene will refuse activities that give her no real enjoyment, and, with the new feeling of support of her natural way of being, will, in many ways known to children, try to get some enjoyment out of her relationship to her parents. If this attempt with father and mother again fails, Arlene may, out of her need, establish her love relationships in some other direction.

Hitting is not the "disease." It is part of the symptomatology. If we are able to bring Arlene back to contact with her natural pleasure functioning, hitting, caused by neurotic drives, will eventually disappear.

OBSERVE THE PARENT

Problem: A devoted, but severe father was putting a snow suit on his three-year-old son. Jerry kept scratching his nose, and rubbing it with the back of his hand, until his father, in exasperation, said: "What are you doing that for," at the same time jerking the boy's hand away. I suggested that perhaps the boy's nose was itching. The father looked annoyed and changed the focus of his attention.

Such behavior is characteristic of many parents who fail to understand that a child has feelings and sensations to which he reacts directly and spontaneously. For a three-year-old to scratch his nose, wriggle if his clothes itch or otherwise respond to

physical stimuli, is entirely natural. Children are much more sensitive to such stimuli than most adults, and for a child to refrain from wriggling or scratching is often a torturing experience. One should first inquire carefully and gently into the causes of a child's behavior, and, if possible, remove the source of discomfort. As children grow older, they can be told, simply, that it is not generally considered polite to scratch during certain social situations, but that they may go elsewhere to do so. Also, as the children grow older, such situations will appear less acute, since the youngster will be able to remove the cause by himself.

The father in this case was too concerned lest his child fall below certain formal standards of courtesy and breeding which are generally accepted among adults. However, it is an error to apply such standards to children. In treating Jerry with so little consideration, the father demonstrated a lack of that real feeling and understanding of another human being which can alone form a sound basis for courtesy and mutual well-being.

Discussion: Such a reaction on the part of the parent is an insight into what measures the father might employ if he found Jerry touching his penis, instead of his nose. The teacher may learn much more concerning home treatment of the child from a little incident of this type than from an hour's conference with the parent. In helping Jerry at school, it is important to know, among other things, how his masturbation is handled at home. Upon direct query the father might assert: "Oh, we always say it is all right." This might be an illusion on the part of the parent. He would not be deliberately telling a lie. He may truly believe that he does not interfere with the child's self-satisfaction. However, a parent's general attitude toward socially accepted forms would be a "lead" to his attitude toward masturbation.

SELF-REGULATED BREAST FEEDING

Problem: Marie's mother began to nurse Marie as soon as the doctor and hospital routine would permit her. She loved every moment of the nursing experience, and she knew that Marie loved it too, and thrived with the warmth and love she received. But Marie's mother wants to have her next baby at home. She thinks that even if a woman is so structured that she cannot, or does not wish to nurse her baby, the general hospital routine makes it almost impossible to treat the baby fairly. She is sure that a child which has been fed continuously in the fetal state in the mother's warm uterus, is miserable lying alone in a cold, hard hospital basket, and being fed at other people's convenience. She wants her baby close beside her. She is sure that it will soon develop a feeding schedule of its own.

She used to keep Marie with her at feeding periods as long as she could, but the baby was miserable in the hospital nursery and cried almost constantly unless someone picked her up. After they were at home, Marie was perfectly happy. When friends would worry because Marie's feeding was not "timed," the mother used to say that she and the baby were both so comfortable and happy, that she just let the baby suck all she wanted to, until she stopped of her own accord. However, Marie's mother did have occasional misgivings. Every once in a while she wondered if she were doing the right thing.

Discussion: Self-regulation should begin immediately upon birth of the child. We do not find animals pushing their newborn away from the udder, and permitting them to suck only at intervals of three hours. No more should a human mother determine the time interval of the baby's feeding urge. Sometimes the baby appears to cry for the breast, desiring merely contact with the mother. If the baby is permitted this necessary contact, and not kept

away from the mother all day, allowed to visit the mother only during specified feeding times, he will soon announce his own eating hours. He will establish them for himself, out of his own need, and no regime superimposed by nurse or doctor, grandmother or aunt, can improve upon the suckling's schedule. Many of the rules surrounding infant breast feeding are based on the antisexual structure of the individuals concerned who feel, e.g., that the breast is nasty, that the mother derives pleasure and that is disgusting, etc.

Often a newborn will continue to suck at the breast long after he is full and the flow of milk has ceased for that particular feeding period. Marie's mother was quite right in letting her suck all she wanted to until the baby stopped of her own accord. From Marie's mother's attitude toward this function, we might make the hypothesis that she is a rather healthy person, possessed of healthy breasts. A healthy breast gives a great deal of oral satisfaction to an infant, aside from food nourishment. It provides organotic contact between two organisms. If this breast, this source of contact, should be removed at feeding time before the baby has had his fill of pleasure, he will cry, be disappointed, and, eventually may refuse the breast entirely, out of fear of its being drawn away from him before he has derived his complete satisfaction. Such treatment develops an immediate feeding problem, and the groundwork for a neurosis.

Marie is an example of a self-regulated, breast-fed child. As we know her today, at three years of age, she is that rare youngster who can go to sleep in complete relaxation anytime she decides she is tired, and in any spot where she feels at home. She enjoys her food, her play, and derives satisfaction from her love relationships.

FREE CHOICE FOR THE CHILD

Problem: Everything about Jane suggests an extremely conventional upbringing. Al-

ready, at three years of age, she seems, to a great degree, the product of what her family wants her to be, rather than what she would like to be. As a result she is much too well-behaved, shows very little initiative, and gives the impression of being very inhibited. She enters so little into group activity that she is rarely the object of destructive impulses on the part of the other children. However, the other day, during some rough-and-tumble play, she was inadvertently hit. Jane did not hit back, or take it as a matter of course, but immediately wanted "to go home and stay home." Her tendency is to run away from, rather than meet an issue. She plays almost entirely by herself, and does not seem to know how, or even desire to make friends. She plays with the same toys, day after day, and has to be helped to try anything new. The first encouraging sign I have seen in her since she entered the school two weeks ago, was to put her feet up on the lunch table. Her whole expression revealed that it was one of the few times she had ever dared rebel. I had to stop her because all the other children followed suit, but have wondered since if this was one of those times the group should have been sacrificed for the individual. Also, is there any point in trying to break down this conventional upbringing when her home environment is so strongly in favor of it?

Discussion: In a group where the sex-economy of the child is given prime consideration, it is out of question to condone the functioning of a sick society, when the natural functioning of a child is at stake. I can not condone compulsive work, or compulsive marriage which are approved and applauded by society every day. No more can I, as an educator, concerned, not in the neurotic machinations of our society, but in the natural functioning of children, allow a youngster to believe that I agree with any force that disapproves his healthy impulses.

It is not my intent to break down conventional upbringing. However, as a person working with children, I feel it my responsibility to provide an opportunity for the child, whereby, he, with free-will, may make his own choice of how he wishes to live, either by adapting completely to the forms of our present culture, or making some compromise with it, thereby losing all or part of his natural functioning, or by rejecting irrational demands of this society, and maintaining his ability to live in the way that he knows to be sweet and satisfactory. For example, among the children we know, let us consider Sophie and Stanley, who are both three and a half years old.

Sophie came to us four months ago from a somewhat rigid, over-protective home environment. She was an extremely uncoordinated, rather unappealing child. Sophie had a vacant, rather stupid expression. Her skin lacked lustre. Her hands hung from her arms, which hung from her shoulders. She gave one the impression of a marionette. If one would pull a string, an arm or a leg might move, otherwise she would just sit, like the proverbial bump on a log. Sophie could sit in the middle of the room by the hour, surrounded by possessions brought from home and chosen from the school toy shelves. If a child approached her, either to take one of her play things, or to make friendly overtures, Sophie would scream, hold on to her whole collection, and cause such a general commotion that teacher intervention was necessary.

Little by little, through Sophie's actions, and by discussions with, and observations of the parents, we began to understand the child's problems. Here was a child who, from her earliest days, had never been permitted contact with, and had been frightened in relation to, anything she wanted. It was always, "Don't touch that. It will hurt you. Don't do that, you will fall." The mother had a germ phobia, and

had denied Sophie playmates on this basis. As a result of this type of upbringing, Sophie was dull and obedient.

We began to show the child that there was another way to live. Natural impulses could be carried through. As would be expected, during the course of these months, many of the impulses came out in a perverted form. For example, in learning to demand her own rights, Sophie takes on the role of authoritarian mother. We bring it out in the group, and play-act. I become the little girl who doesn't want to be put to bed. (I know that Sophie doesn't like to go to bed as a protest.) I lie down on a table and kick my legs. Sophie screams, "Go to bed." I cry, "I don't want to, I don't want to." The children become an audience. One little boy rushes over to me and says, "You don't have to go to bed if you don't want to." He has, out of his own fears, and identification with me, taken it seriously. But I explain it to him, and soon we are all laughing, Sophie included. Several of the children have, thus, been able to live out this familiar situation. We all see how unnecessary Sophie's authoritarian measures were, when I suddenly announce, "Oh, well, I am tired. I guess I will just go to sleep." This is all part of the learning process, and Sophie has learned a great deal. She has learned enough to teach her parents by making rational demands of them, backed by the support she has received at the school. She thereby is able to teach her parents in a practicable manner, whereas I could have discussed theory with these same parents all year, and never have achieved the same results. Sophie has almost made her choice. I know which direction she will try to follow. She will try to function naturally, not because I push her, but out of her own experience and her own need.

Stanley, on the other hand, will, I believe, choose to stand by his conventional upbringing. To the casual observer, Stanley is good, easy to manage, open to sugges-

tion; he plays with the other children and talks very well for his age. What is wrong with this picture?

Stanley is too good, to the point of being self-righteous. If he is on the verge of becoming embroiled in a quarrel, Stanley is not aggressive, immediately seeks adult aid, and prides himself upon not fighting it out for himself. "Wasn't that nice of me?" is his constant claim. It is too easy for the children to sway Stanley's actions. He gives up toys, games and opinions much too readily. Stanley always falls in with a suggestion. He rarely is a leader. His speech is too good. He verbalizes. One gets the impression that he often talks instead of acting. His speech is much too polite, and seems to be patterned after conventional repartee. He is so, so social. The other day we had a visitor at the school, who was engaged in repairing a broken window pane. The other children were fascinated with the process, but Stanley was uninterested. "Isn't it a lovely day?" he asked the man.

Stanley has a very stretched, smooth, polished-looking skin, particularly in the region of his forehead. He seldom moves his eyes without moving his head. His eyes have an exceedingly cautious, frightened expression. When he made his first visit to the school, instead of inspecting the toys, watching or joining in with the children, or asking me questions, he merely sat, very primly, on the edge of a chair in my conference room, and "behaved."

Stanley's parents are "modern." They attend a "modern" church, they engage in "modern" social activities, they read "modern" books on child psychology. They have learned, very well, the lesson of how to give a child enough rope so that he may hang himself. Stanley is the product of a home wherein little wishes are conceded. A child may splash in a puddle, he may have his own friends to a party, he may select, out of his wardrobe, which suit he wants to wear, but, when it comes to vital

issues, the need for healthy love, masturbation, self-regulation, Stanley is denied. However, since the parents so often concede to his desires, Stanley becomes bewildered, and doubts, with strong assurance, the demands of his natural impulses. "You see," his parents tell him, "we allow you to do everything. When we ask you to do something, then you should do as we say. It is all for your own good." Such a line of approach sounds quite reasonable to a child who has never been permitted to know the satisfaction of natural impulses.

Yes, I should have allowed Jane to put her feet up on the lunch table. This was her way of saying, at last I can act as I feel. When children have had their natural impulses repressed, we cannot possibly expect them to change from a neurotic to a healthy child, all in one jump. There must be a transition period through which we must help them to find what they are trying to do. In the situation outlined by our teacher, positive action would not have meant sacrificing the group for the individual. It seemed that most of the other children also wanted to put their feet up on the table. Several of them had the same need as Jane. It would have helped the entire group. Lunch time is not a sacred institution. Let the children have some fun. The food can wait a few minutes. A certain amount of tension will be released, and, according to my experience, everybody will eat with more enjoyment. You can explain to the children that we don't always have to put our feet up on the table because we can eat comfortably here without doing so. But, of most import, the children will know that you are on their side, that you, too, know what a torturing experience it is to sit, meal after meal, straight in your chair, like a little lady or gentleman, to mind your manners, and in general to feel painfully uncomfortable. Once the child knows that you are on his side, he will express to you, in a variety of

ways, more of his difficulties, and this is a point of departure for helping him out of his troubles.

During my experience with the Children's Place the greatest obstacle I confronted was irrational arguments and actions of adults who could not bear to condone self-regulation among children. The following are a few examples of the reaction of educators, parents and officials to a school situation wherein children were approved and treated as human beings.

NAP TIME

A regulation of the Department of Health, Day Care Unit, says that every child attending nursery school must take a mid-day nap. This infers that after the noon day meal, all children in pre-school must lie on their cots for a one-and-a-half to a two hour period. We found that most of our older children, two to five years of age, did not wish to sleep after lunch. Those who wanted to rest were given the opportunity. Those who obviously did not need the sleep were allowed to continue with their games according to general or individual interest. One day we were visited by the city representatives as part of their routine observation of private schools. I was severely reprimanded for breaking the law, for allowing a child to decide whether, he, at a specified time wished to lie down on a cot for the official minimum time of ninety minutes. Also, I was warned that unless I instituted a total, specific rest hour, they would not provide me with authorization.

To be sure, the basis for such a law is valid. Educators find that most of the children become "over-stimulated" during a long morning of activity. They become irritable, fretful, and show all signs of fatigue. Our school did not lack such youngsters. Especially were these symptoms observable for a few days, and in some cases a few weeks after registration. However, in general, after a short period

of attendance a marked change was noticeable. Visitors would remark continually, and in pleased surprise, upon the relaxed, natural feeling of the children. Our part-time art, dance and craft teachers, who divided their activities among various schools commented that our children were "like a breath of fresh air." The children were at ease with themselves. General "over-stimulation" was rare.

We found that the children who tired easily were those whose total energy function was blocked. Jenny, for example, was troubled with a severe masturbation difficulty. She continually attempted to gain sexual satisfaction by rocking on the floor. She was tortured with guilt feeling if she would touch her genital with her hands. At times she was apathetic, her eyes would become dull, and deep yellow rings would appear under her lower lids. From such a state, on a moment's notice, she could become exceedingly excitable. She would be feverish, sweat, flush and exaggerate all her movements. I will further mention the case of this child. Suffice it to say here that, when Jenny first came to us, she required not one, but two or three naps a day. With just the commencement toward a solution of her problem, Jenny began to lose her symptoms of "over-stimulation." She no longer required frequent rests. As a matter of fact, she refused them. Thus, as we observed in Jenny's case, and in the behavior of several other children who came into the school, the child who was truly over-stimulated definitely required a long rest period, but, when the total condition of the child commenced to fall into a more healthy pattern, a protracted rest hour was unnecessary.

I continually hear a common complaint from teachers working in all types of nursery schools: "The only period I dread during the day is rest hour. There are always a few children who sleep, but the others are continually bobbing up and down. They squirm, they whimper, they

become irritable with the inactivity. In some cases it is actually torture for a child to lie down and be quiet when he wants to be up and doing things. Why must we, day after day, force these children into a rigid pattern when it is perfectly obvious that they want to move about." Many adults do not understand the keen aliveness and healthy behavior of children. Often high spirit is labeled "over-stimulation." There is a continual attempt to quiet children, force them to conform to the stiff patterns of our culture. Nap time is often used as an excuse to enforce such concepts.

Some mothers insist that their children take a nap, even though the child weep, refuse, and be perfectly miserable. Marie's mother, for example, was adamant. Marie was five years old. She hated naps. However, her mother had a sleeping phobia. She would lie awake during the night, hour after hour, unable to close her eyes. If she could not sleep, she was going to see to it that Marie did. She forced Marie to lie on her bed two hours during the day, and to go to bed early at night. She asked us to continue this practice at the school. After considering the situation for several days, I felt it necessary, for the wellbeing of the child, to refuse the parent's request. The mother argued, gossiped about our "radical" practices, and yet, on the other hand, disregarded my suggestion that perhaps she would prefer to withdraw Marie from the nursery.

We found the most comfortable solution for the "rest period or no rest period question" to be the following. A cot was usually open in the play room. More cots were available when the children requested them. Thus, when one child was tired, or several wanted to take a rest, whether it be the first of the morning, the last hour of the day, or after lunch, the children could regulate the rest function themselves. In actuality, such a solution appears

so simple, one may be rightly surprised to find that it is not common practice.

I believe that our City Day Care Unit is doing excellent work in demanding, establishing and maintaining suitable physical conditions in schools caring for young children, and in attempting to further what they believe to be more "modern" methods of education. However, through lack of knowledge, they may commit a fatal error by enforcing the standard concepts for emotional behavior development, and blocking the possibility for self-regulation, not merely in this specific consideration of rest hour, but in the total functioning of children.

TRAINING FOR CLEANLINESS

Little Jody was ten months old when he came to our nursery. His face had the piquant quality of a pixie, but his eyes were often sad and his face was drawn. His skin did not have a pinkish glow. It was somewhat sallow, with a yellow tinge. He was very bright for his age, able to think well, and to remember, but his general expression was sadness. His smile was gleeful, almost witty, but he smiled only with his eyes. His mouth rarely changed. His lips and jaw were not as yet set in a tense position. The lower portion of his face seemed rather immobile and passive.

Jody's mother had started his toilet training when he was four months old. Somehow she did not feel quite right about it, but the child's grandmother convinced her this was the only sane procedure, otherwise, she was warned, the child would form "bad habits" and would be "dirty" for years to come. For six months the mother had varying success with Jody's toilet habits. For a few weeks he would conform and use the toilet. Then, again, he would revert to soiling his diapers. The mother was distraught and nervous in her relationship to the child. Jody was irritable, demanding and subject to frequent colds which started in the

nasal tract and spread to the bronchial tubes.

Upon examination, I found the child to be tense through his neck. His chest was raised in a slight inspiratory attitude. His buttocks were not especially stiff. However, as I was observing the child, we were both talking and laughing. He was relaxed. A few hours later he had the urge to defecate. He commenced to scream, not the short, panting cries of anxiety, but long, full-throated yells of anger. His face was flushed. His body sweated. He pushed his pelvic region up and down. His buttocks and legs were rigid!

What harm and misery may be caused through good intentions and lack of knowledge! Children throughout our cultured society are being forced into premature toilet training and are therefore being diverted from healthy pleasure functioning. With very few exceptions, every child I have known who has had masturbation conflict was coaxed, cajoled or threatened into cleanliness before his first birthday. I found the pelvic region and legs of all such children to be hard and stiff. In my work in vegetotherapeutic gymnastics with adults, the complaint was common: "I can not move my legs freely." "I have pains in my buttocks and feel stiff there." "It is impossible for me to move my pelvis without moving my legs." Invariably these pupils would recall what they had experienced as brutality in their early toilet training, and their rigidity that had derived therefrom. All these adults, therefore, were incapable of experiencing genital pulsation, of experiencing pleasure in orgasm. Innumerable cases of this nature have been discussed in our literature.

I have had many interviews with parents who decided against sending their young ones to the "Children's Place" because I refused to force toilet training. Such parents were indignant, often disgusted, and claimed that our "theories" were based on

laziness. Those parents who were able to accept our point of view were increasingly pleased. Our laundry bills were high but our children were happy, and learned what the toilet was for with ease and comfort.

In the babies' nursery we used small pots, pottie chairs and toilet seats. No child was ever forced by threat, punishment, word or expression. Diapers were changed as a matter of course, not as a chore on the part of the nurse, but as a pleasurable experience for the child. The baby was washed, powdered, patted and loved. Wee-wee and doo-doo, the most common expressions used by the children in the nursery were adopted by the nurse. Vessels for urination were always in clear view. They were kept immaculate and fresh smelling, and it became a game for the children to crawl over or walk up to one and say wee-wee. An untrained baby would watch with interest the purpose of this pot and was soon asking to use it himself. When a child expressed interest in sitting down on the toilet, by pointing to the seat and saying doo-doo, by pulling at his diapers or pants, or by taking the nurse's hand or skirt and drawing her in the direction of the toilet, then, and only then, was he assisted in trying out this new experience. During these first attempts a child might urinate or defecate. Sometimes the request was merely an expression of curiosity. Some youngsters, after their first experience, began to form the habit. Others forgot about it for a time and then tried again. The choice was left to the child completely.

Our babies who had not been subjected to previous severe training discarded their diapers between twelve and sixteen months of age. Several infants came to us with a history of early, forced training. These children had "relapses." It was not until they were two and three years, in one case four years of age, that they were able to use the toilet consistently.

I believe that toilet training of children

in a nursery, where it is a matter of group learning, where one child observes the other, facilitates the situation. However, toilet training in the home environment has proved equally successful as far as the happiness of the child is concerned. The only difference I have observed is that the child generally learns the use of the toilet a few months later in his life.

MASTURBATION

According to our experience we find that all children masturbate. We consider this pleasure function to be a basic need for the healthy development of a child. In the practice of our school, masturbation was not merely condoned, but genuinely approved. When I say all children masturbate I mean that in the emergence from the oral phase, and often parallel with it, all infants will discover pleasure in handling the genital. Occasionally a baby will commence to touch his genital even a few days after birth.¹ It is only after this function has been denied them by threat, punishment, diversion, or by one of the other manifold methods suggested by "authorities" and condoned by parents and teachers, that we find children either masturbating in secret or entirely inhibiting the impulse.

Jenny has already been introduced to our reader as the child who required so many naps. She was four years old when registered in the school. She remained with us for three months. It is difficult to convey the pathos in this child's face. When one looked at her one did not receive a positive impression from her body in general as is the case with a healthy child. The body was passive, usually limp. But her face—her face seemed to carry the misery of the entire world. Her head was rather long, an exaggerated oval. All her features were drawn down. The color of her skin was yellow, sometimes almost brownish. Although she would actually cry only a few

¹ Cf. Saxe, Felicia: *A Case History*. *This Journal* 4, 1945, 59-71.

times a day, the face appeared as though it were always crying. Jenny was an ugly, bedraggled child, and yet when she smiled she was beautiful. Her whole face would take on a rosy light. Her body would move pleasurably. Her voice which usually had a whimpering quality would develop a clear tone. The two things which made Jenny happy were special loving kindness and the occasional visits with her father.

Jenny came from a home in which the father and mother had separated after several years of quarreling and bitterness. Jenny had a keen sensitivity. She reacted immediately to an emotional situation in both adults and children. She was exceedingly aware of sadness and would attempt to comfort anybody whose misery was either obvious or hidden. I was impressed by the feeling that she had suffered greatly from the incompatibility of her parents. The mother told me that Jenny constantly tried to bring about a reunion between the parents. When the father would visit the home in which Jenny and her mother lived, she would repeatedly urge the mother to sit on the father's lap. The mother considered Jenny a burden and a nuisance, and reprimanded the father for "indulging" the child when he would express love and concern for Jenny. The child often confided to me that she would prefer to live in her father's home, but I knew this would never be achieved, since the court had awarded custody of the child to the mother, and the mother was pleased to use this device as a means of wounding her former husband.

Added to Jenny's background of emotional upheaval was a history of masturbation prohibition. During her second and third years Jenny had spent the summers with her grandmother who had scolded her whenever she touched her genital. The mother was more "modern." She used the method of diversion. Jenny had evidently experienced the primal scene. Her only means of attempting to gain satisfaction

was lying down on the floor or on a cot, face down, and pushing her pelvis up and down in hard mechanical movements. "This," Jenny told me, "was the way her father did it."

I made an attempt to help the child in private therapeutic sessions. The first hour revealed intense fear of touching her genital with her hand. We discussed this for about fifteen minutes. She asked for a blanket, and proceeded to masturbate with her hands under the cover but above her clothes. She still was afraid of direct contact with her genital. She continued for about five minutes with increasing tension, flushing of the face, light perspiration and increased movement of the entire body. Finally she relaxed and rested. Soon she commenced to talk to me in low, easy tones, about her games and her toys. After a few minutes she asked to join her playmates. When she did so, I observed that she enjoyed the children in a manner which had never before been possible to her. She laughed, she suggested new games and was altogether delighted with her newly found capacity. This continued about two or three hours until her mother came to take her home, at which time she screamed, fell down on the floor, kicked her legs and rolled about, as was her general reaction upon seeing her mother after a day in school.

The next three therapeutic hours took place at lunch time. Jenny was pleased with this special attention in the two of us having our meal together, separated from the others. She rapidly gained confidence and talked compulsively about her troubles. She was exceedingly confused concerning the love relationships in her home environment. So many adults fall into the error of assuming that children understand nothing of adult life. Jenny was only four but she discussed with me observations which showed she understood the domination of her grandmother over her mother, the infantile basis of her father's relation-

ship to his father, and the extra-marital associations of both her parents. Sexual relationships had become to her situations of fear. She had witnessed in them nothing stable or healthy. This carried over to her own sexual feelings, and had influenced her achievement of satisfactory masturbation.

During this period of therapeutic sessions Jenny had already begun to improve. I felt it might be of benefit to the child to discuss the entire matter with the mother in order to enlist her support. I arranged for an interview. The mother commenced by telling me that she was so pleased with Jenny's improvement. The child appeared so much more "easy-going" and was much more comfortable to live with. I felt encouraged and told the mother of my observations and practise during the short time Jenny had been at the school. The mother was suddenly indignant and horrified. Her guilt feelings concerning the child completely clouded her argument. She insisted that Jenny's difficulty had nothing to do with a masturbation conflict, rather it was all based on the failure of the father to provide stability in the home. I assured her that I believed the dissatisfaction of the adults in her environment caused Jenny pain, but that if she were able to dissociate their sexual fears from her own, that is, if she were aided in her efforts toward healthy masturbation, the child's entire functioning would improve and she would be better able to sustain the rational disappointment which evolved from the unhappiness of her parents. No explanation could convince the mother and she left my office in an angry and spiteful state of mind.

The next day Jenny came to school as usual. When she called for Jenny, the mother told me, in an exceedingly brash manner, that she had decided to withdraw Jenny from the school, effective from that moment. She gave me no opportunity

to prepare the child for the sudden separation from the school.

I later learned from our parents and teachers that this mother gossiped about the terrible practises at the school. She declared that we taught the children to masturbate.

HEALTHY CHILDREN SUFFER

The following story derives from my observation of a child during this past summer. Jimmy did not attend The Children's Place. His father and mother are the only parents discussed in this article who were acquainted with sex-economic upbringing of children.

Jimmy, who is almost four years old, is a self-assertive, independent youngster. For the past year and a half he had been living among a group of children at a boarding school where the rights of children are given a relatively fair recognition. This past summer Jimmy's parents removed him from the school and took him to live on the outskirts of a small New England village. Jimmy enjoyed his new environment—the trees, a lake, the stars, the learning of new skills such as swimming, managing the boat, feeding the fire, and fixing the water pipes. He repeatedly expressed the desire to live in the new home forever and ever and never return to the city. Then Jimmy met the emotional plague in human structure.

NAKEDNESS

Jimmy enjoyed running around without any clothes. Since their home was somewhat secluded, the parents believed that a little naked boy would not give serious offense, and they did not wish to deprive the child of his desire to walk about the house and the grounds unclothed. However, Jimmy soon began to learn that strangers passing by were disturbed if he did not wear pants. "Why do they tell me to put something on?" he would ask.

One morning five-year-old Jessie came

to visit. Jimmy had just gotten out of bed. He rushed downstairs with no clothing, happily displaying a ten-cent piece. "Look what I have, Jessie. I'll buy you an ice cream cone." Jessie averted her eyes from Jimmy in disgust and fear. "Go put some clothes on, Jimmy," she admonished in a moralistic tone, and ran away from him. "She don't want ice cream," said Jimmy, amazed. He had come out to her in a sweet and generous manner, and he felt somehow rebuffed.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

After Jimmy had been in his new home about two months he decided he would like to walk the mile and a half into town, on his own, to buy some candy and chewing gum. Jimmy asked his father if he could go. The father said yes. "Then give me some of your money." With the coins in his pocket Jimmy was off on an exciting new experience. But Jimmy soon learned that people, especially middle-aged ladies, cannot bear to find independence in a young child. Whenever they would see him out walking alone they would tell him, "Go home little boy, go home."

"Those people are so silly," Jimmy told his parents, with a tremor in his voice. They always say to me, where is your mother, little boy, you mustn't run away from your house. So I just tell them, you go away you dumb bitch."

It was patent that Jimmy was hurt and bewildered by people misunderstanding his motives and attempting to fetter his movement. After explaining to him that there are many people who do not realize what children like to do, Jimmy's mother gave the boy a letter to put in his pocket-book, and told him if he were out walking and people pestered him, insisting that he go home, he could show them the note, which said that this child's parents permitted him to roam around unescorted. Jimmy seemed relieved to have the extra protection in his pocket. The parents felt

the misery of knowing that their child needed such assistance in order to maintain freedom of movement in his environment.

"PEOPLE LAUGH FUNNY"

"Why do people laugh funny?" Jimmy asked his parents one day. "Not you," he said to his mother, "and not Daddy and not me, but everybody laughs funny." He gave an imitation of the false, embarrassed social cackle of a sexually repressed female. Then Jimmy commenced walking around with stiff steps, jerking his arms, making his hands hang limp and contorting his eyes and nose and mouth into all kinds of unappealing faces. He was acting out the different gestures and expressions he had felt in neurotic people with whom he had been in contact, people who lived in the town, tourists and contemporaries. Immediately after this display he reverted to infantile behavior, sucked his father's thumb, crawled, screwed up his eyes so that they were open just a tiny bit and whimpered the painful complaint of the misunderstood, bewildered baby. Intermittently he would bark like a dog in anger and resentment.

This is a reaction that an otherwise relatively healthy child can produce from contact with a sick society.

"SILLY PEOPLE GET EVERYTHING"

For several days Jimmy repeated his "silly" contortions and movements. Finally his parents were given further insight into the basis of this behavior. "Silly people get everything they want," he told them. Jimmy had begun to assume the silliness in order to avoid social disapproval. The parents began to understand that Jimmy had observed a negative response, in his social environment, to his natural impulses, but that his playmates did not receive a scolding when they were silly concerning the same impulses. For example, the parents learned from Jimmy that interest in

Jessie's going to the toilet were grounds for severe reproof on the part of the little girl's mother, but silly "shit from your ass" discussions, in secret, among the children was the accepted procedure. It became necessary for Jimmy's parents to explain to him the sickness that is bred in most human beings and to help him distinguish between rational and irrational motives in people. They encouraged him to give credence to his own way of being. They explained to him that silly people did not really get what they wanted, that their very silliness prevented them from being sincerely happy. As a result Jimmy's imitations and characterizations became less frequent, and when he did use them their content appeared patent to him. He would laugh and say, "That's silliness."

"SHE'LL SPANK ME OVER HER CHOKE"

Jessie's mother was a bitter woman with a meek mouth and crafty eyes. She was only thirty-three years old and had already born six children who swarmed over the tiny house in which the family lived. She had been brought up in a small village where everybody's actions were public knowledge. She had never known healthy freedom. She constantly screamed at her own brood and regarded them with hate and disgust. She was jealous and avaricious and could not see happiness in others. Jimmy, only by innocently following his own, easy-going patterns was a direct challenge to her. If she saw him swimming without clothes she scolded him. If he hugged Jessie, she scolded him. If he laughed, if he walked, if he ran in a natural manner, she would find some excuse to reprove him.

Jimmy began to recognize her hate for him. He refused to visit his friends in her home. He became anxious if it were necessary to pass her house on the way to town. He developed a rational fear of this woman. In his desire to explain to his

parents what he felt for this mother, he opened his mouth, took some short gasping breaths and said, "I don't want to go there. She'll spank me over her choke." He had the feeling that the woman wanted to spank him and choke him, to crush him, and it all came out as one expression.

How could the parents advise Jimmy? They could not tell him his analysis was incorrect. What he said was actually true. The best thing they could do was to bring him more frequently into the company of the few adults they knew who had a more basic understanding of children. But Jimmy had become wary. He began to say, "I don't like anybody."

NIGHTMARE

One night Jimmy woke up from his sleep crying in terror, "Go away, go away, go away." It was several minutes before his parents could comfort him sufficiently to hear about the cause of his fright. "Jessie's daddy says he will throw sharp stones at me," he cried out, and again fell into his terror.

Whether Jessie's father had actually threatened Jimmy, or whether, just by being the mean, petty, sly person he was Jimmy felt the threat was never ascertained. Whatever the case may have been is not important. The reality existed in that Jimmy had been terrorized. After he became somewhat calm, Jimmy launched forth on a phantasy of what he was going to do to Jessie's father: "I'll cut him up in little pieces. I'll poke out his eyes so he can't see, then when he crosses the street he won't see the cars and they'll run him down. I'll chop him. I'll chop him in his head all the way through his body." It can be seen that Jimmy had felt his natural impulses severely attacked.

Jimmy's father helped him along, and joined in his phantasy. Jimmy felt supported and secure. Here, at least, were his

parents who understood. He went back to sleep feeling safe. The next day, however, he renewed his phantasies. He asked his father to get down the hatchet and give it to him so that he could go into town and chop Jessie's father. They actually did take the hatchet off the shelf, but instead of hunting Jessie's father, Jimmy's father suggested they go out and chop some trees, also explaining to Jimmy why one could not just go out and kill a man. Jimmy entered into the proposed substitute with great glee. As they chopped at trees, Jimmy brought forth further "blood-curdling" phantasies. He was joyful, yelled happily, ran up and down and finally his excitement subsided. Whenever he met Jessie's father after that night of the terror dream, Jimmy expressed his dislike for the man. However, one time when the man and the boy happened to meet at a party, Jimmy was quite sociable and showed no resentment. In any event he no longer feared the man. I believe he recognized him for what he was and merely allowed the matter to stand at that point.

Jimmy's first experience with the "outside world" was a surprise and shock to him. Had his parents been less understanding, had his general behavior patterns been less healthy, these contacts might have proved a contributing factor toward the basis of a neurotic character structure. Our educational problems lie not only among the emotionally suppressed children. Rather, I might say, the healthy children place upon the parent and teacher an even greater responsibility.

The healthy child is a rare child in our culture. Self-regulation is feared by adults and denied to children. Early toilet training and masturbation prohibition are enforced; "good manners," bottle feeding, diversion are approved; and a host of rules and regulations are set up in order to train the child to conform to a sick society. Arlene and Jerry, Marie, Sophie and Stan-

ley, Jane, Jenny, Jody and Jimmy, all have the human right to function according to their own way of being. That this is not their privilege in the standard school and home environment is a situation for consideration among all parents and educators who have a deep-rooted interest in the happiness, well-being and development of children.

Note: 'The Children's Place is no longer a functioning school. I cannot discuss here the irrational mechanisms which made it necessary for me to close the nursery a year after its inception. However, I believe it would be of value to my colleagues to understand some of the difficulties surrounding the establishment of a school wherein the child is approved. In my experience with the Children's Place the major obstacles to the development of the school were parents, teachers, and city officials.

Parents were either false, uncooperative or openly hostile. Training of teachers remained a constant hardship. The inability of the adult to permit the child to function in a natural fashion created the need for daily discussions and several changes in staff. Some Health Department officials were antagonistic. At first, the ladies who represented this division of the city government were most encouraging to the establishment of the school. As soon as they began to observe our methods, they commenced to insist upon regulating our pedagogical policies, to the extent of demanding changes in staff and basic educational principles. I was called down to their office and had to face a most unpleasant interview during which the director of the Day Care Unit stated that unless I revised my entire approach to the emotional health of children, she would force me to close the school.

These combined conditions of an irrational nature proved to be a tremendous drain upon my energy. Three months be-

fore the proposed termination of the school session for the year, I suffered from a complete depletion of energy. Between that time and the closing day of the school year I decided that it would be the better part

of valor to close the Children's Place until such time as it would be possible to reorganize, forewarned and forearmed, with the knowledge gained during this year of experience.

THE MAKING OF FASCISTS*

By GLADYS MEYER, PH.D.

At a servicemen's center in a waterfront neighborhood of one of the Eastern seaboard cities a gang of little boys kept trying to crash the dances. When those who slipped in were caught and put out, as was repeatedly the case, if it was decent weather they would climb up on the first floor window sills to watch. The windows were barred, which made climbing easy. When the windows were open the boys would take their revenge by spitting through the windows at the servicemen. When winter came this outlet was denied them. It happened that these boys were Irish and that the center was particularly popular with British merchant seamen. One late autumn Saturday night this gang fell on a young British sailor as he left the dance. Calling him a "goddam Limey," they beat him up and stabbed him. The leader of the gang was nine years old.

In this same neighborhood a gang of adolescent girls has standing warfare with a gang of adolescent boys. They have street battles, punching, kicking and hitting one another with sticks. On one such occasion a neighborhood Jewish girl passed by and the girls turned on her, the boys joining in to help beat her up.

In both these incidents the characteristics of political fascism are obvious. But there are other elements. Basic to the actions in both incidents was the combination of longing, deprivation, and fear of authority. In the first instance the longing to join the crowd, to be part of the warmth, light and fun, and the repeated forcible

ejection played its role. In the second instance the sexual longing of adolescents and the defense against it, gave rise to organized destructiveness. The sexual character of the problem is more immediately recognizable in this incident. A further component, which belongs in the political character of fascism, is that of the socially (neighborhood) approved object of destructiveness, in the first instance the traditional enemy, the British, and in the second the contemporary bogey, the Jew. In individual acts of violence of this sort, unprovoked, against traditional or "foreign" antagonists, we are only one step removed from the larger myth, the more inclusive rationalization, that "freedom" depends on the destruction of specific peoples—now these, now others, depending on the historic time and place. But the success of such myths lies in the character structure of the individuals who respond to and support them. It is important to look at how such character structure is formed in masses of children at the present time.

The specific history of the members of these two gangs is unknown to me, although I have seen the rows of dingy red brick tenements where these children live. From the records of cases known to social agencies in similar neighborhoods in the same and other cities, however, it is possible to reconstruct the pattern in which this kind of character structure develops, to see how suppressive behavior is socially supported, and to offer some critique of what specifically is being done about it.

Although the figure of a nine-year-old gang leader capable of murder is shocking, nine years is a very long time in the life of a child and the critical stages of his development will have been passed and

* Much of the illustrative material for this article was drawn from unpublished student projects at the New York School of Social Work. Direct quotation of cases as a whole, and specific acknowledgment to authors has been avoided to preserve the anonymity of the social agencies from whose records the material was originally gathered.

dealt with, for better or for worse. The following examples are not unusual, but are the run of the mill problems of children in our society. The fact that the illustrations are drawn from segments of the population overburdened with ignorance, economic and emotional deprivation, crowding and insecurity, is only due to the fact that these people are the ones who bring their problems to social workers, and therefore there is some record of them. Any psychiatrically oriented nursery school teacher can bear witness to the fact that the same problems are present in children from other economic strata. The deprivation, suppression and terrorization of children is all about us and goes as unnoticed as the noise and grime of city streets. People are insensitive to it; it is a taken for granted part of the environment.

A young social worker interviewed a hundred mothers at a baby clinic. Feeding problems were the most common complaint of these mothers. In this connection it is interesting to look at some of the attitudes she found toward weaning:

At thirteen months Catherine's mother decided it was time to wean her. So each time the baby approached the breast the mother stuck her with a pin. Catherine cried in fright each time this happened, but soon stopped reaching for the breast. She cried and vomited for a week and refused all food for some time. Now at sixteen months she has temper tantrums and soils against the wall. As her mother correctly, but vindictively, observes, "It's just for spite."

Another mother with a feeding problem observed of her eight-month-old baby, "She has a will of her own that just can't be broken."

One little boy was weaned abruptly at the age of one because of the birth of a new baby. At two he has persistent vomiting which is handled by forced feeding.

Another mother, two months before the arrival of a new baby, abruptly weaned her

little girl from the bottle. She decided it was time for the child "to grow up." She put away all the bottles "for the new baby" and threw out all the nipples the little girl had been using. The child cried bitterly and for several weeks refused milk in any form. The mother commented, "She's just beginning to eat again."

In contrast to these mothers there were those who showed guilt or resentment when the baby was ready to wean himself. "My milk wasn't good enough for him," was one attitude. Naturally the mother who needs to dominate her child in order to have his whole attention and love will resent the first move toward independence. An extreme example of such a need was seen in the case of a highly educated professional woman who was having a child by a man whom she had only known briefly and for whom she did not care. During the later stages of delivery she had a dream under ether in which she was inside the child instead of the child in her.

Among many mothers the fear of another pregnancy adds to or supplants the sense of personal rejection if the baby weans himself, as in large groups of the population the belief persists that conception is not possible during lactation, and the mothers are unable or unwilling to use contraceptives.

Common to both groups of mothers, those who wanted to terminate sucking, and those who wanted to prolong it, is the utter disregard of the child's own needs and rate of growth. That such experiences can leave a permanent mark on a child is either unknown or disregarded not only in the milieu of these mothers but in the majority of those concerned with child development and education. The rank-and-file child educators are still preoccupied with the child's motor responses and how quickly his "concepts" form.

Even more serious than ignorance, however, is the character attitude of the mother whose failure is not so much stupidity as

immature competition with the child. At a clinic the following was observed:

A ten-months-old youngster, who had been waiting with his mother some time, was crying with fatigue and hunger. His mother gave him the bottle which he seized eagerly. After a minute he let it fall, and then began to cry again. He was obviously all tired out. The mother shook him hard, shouting, "I'm hot and tired, too. Here!" She shoved the bottle in the baby's mouth. He choked and screamed and had to be carried out.

One of the worst aspects of feeding difficulties is that of the cultural pressure in some groups to have the baby "eat well," or that a fat baby is a healthy baby. Many mothers at clinic, whose babies show normal weight gains, complain that they are poor eaters because they do not conform to neighborhood standards. We can imagine what such children are subjected to in cajoling and threats to make them eat.

If the feeding problem is a serious one for the baby, the problem of learning to go to the toilet is even more fraught with compulsion, anxiety and terror. The cultural competition as to whose baby is toilet-trained first is a factor. The wish of the mother to be rid of the trouble of diapers and laundry is another. Compulsive cleanliness on the part of mothers is perhaps the strongest factor. The cultural myth that a "regular" bowel movement every day at a regular time is essential, is the outgrowth of this, and is continually plugged by the laxative companies and by many doctors.

For example, one mother gives her child milk of magnesia every day because it *would* be difficult for the baby without it. She doesn't know whether the baby has difficulty or not but is "afraid she would have." A young mother commented about a five-months-old baby: "It's regular every day on the dot. She never disappoints me." Another mother boasted that when her baby was "just a tiny thing" she had her bowel movement on the potty so that the

neighbors and relatives gathered around to admire the sight.

Many mothers, in their attempt to win this battle of too early toilet training, leave their children on the potty for hours at a time. One mother claimed, "I make her sit there for three hours, and she won't, she's so stubborn." Other mothers instill their own attitudes from birth: "I say 'shame' every time she wets"; "I say 'bad boy' every time I have to diaper him."

Spanking and other corporal punishments are not unknown for failure to perform when placed on the receptacle, or for accidents away from it. Naturally all these attitudes have their later harvest of hatred and fear. An extreme example may be provided by a boy of five in a psychiatric hospital who had become mute. In inquiring into the history of this child I was assured by the student social worker that the mother "was not a rejecting mother." I pressed for details of what had happened in the child's history. Finally it was admitted, very casually, that whenever this child wet or soiled the bed his mother rubbed his face in it. At the hospital the child continually saw huge pink toilets on the wall. Major progress was felt to have been made when he was able to enter a bathroom at the hospital alone.

A few children rebel. One mother said, "I trained him at one year. It wasn't easy. He hollered." Another remarked of her eight-month-old child, "She has a stool as soon as I take her off the potty." A few mothers understand the attempt at self-assertion, but take it only as a challenge to fight the battle more forcefully and win. "As soon as I take her up she wets. It's for spite. I know."

The most acute area of difficulty, however, is the attitude toward infantile masturbation. And here mothers' sexual fears and ignorance get least help from professional guidance, if they by any chance seek it. One social worker interviewing a group of mothers felt the subject was so taboo in

our culture that she could not even broach it. If a supposedly trained person has this approach what can we expect from mothers? One student social worker reported that she had been instructed by a psychiatrist treating a seriously ill child to obtain information from the mother on how she had dealt with the child's masturbation. When the query was put, the mother looked blank, then embarrassed, and finally spelled out in a whisper, "you mean s-e-l-f-a-b-u-s-e." She then denied that the child had ever masturbated. For teachers, social workers and parents who have any naturalness about children it is almost impossible to believe what happens in many families.

In one foster home record one reads that the foster mother requires the children to dress and undress in her presence "for fear they will touch themselves." Yet this mother was selected as a suitable substitute parent by an agency presumably qualified to make the selection.

In one child guidance clinic record we read the history of a boy whose mother brandished the bread knife with the threat that she would cut off his penis if he masturbated. An even more serious case of a little boy of six, who had set a number of major fires, revealed that when he was put to bed his grandfather and uncles would stand around the crib snipping at him with the scissors to emphasize that he must not touch his penis. One young social worker at the Children's Court said to the writer with the greatest casualness, "Of course, all the mothers tell their kids they'll cut it off."

When mothers who have not worked through their own infantile conflicts attempt "enlightened" attitudes toward masturbation on the part of their children one finds curious results. One mother encouraged her child to masturbate in her presence and got evident perverse satisfaction in watching. One mother who had been extremely sensible about feeding and

toilet training and very early genital play expressed relief when, after her boy had an abrasion on the glans penis, he no longer felt pleasure in touching his genital. One mother who tried to ignore the fact that her little girl masturbated while eating tied the blankets at night so tightly that the child could not move freely. The mother was very worried about this child's nightmares and continual restless sleep. The child slept well at nursery school during the nap period.

One has only to look at daily actual happenings on a broad scale to realize the reality of children's fears. Not all children can armor themselves against parental threats and actions as one little boy of five did. When his mother told him his penis would drop off if he played with it he replied, "Gee, but you're dumb."

The character attitudes of mothers, or substitute mothers, are the center of the problem whatever the specific behavior of the child may be. One mother reported that when her young baby wakes her by crying in the night she shouts, "Stop or I'll kill you." Or at the other extreme there is the mother whose husband works at night and "frankly" she likes an excuse to take the baby to bed with her. Or there is the mother who left a boy of five and a girl of two playing on the fire escape. Either intentionally or unintentionally the older child pushed the little one so she fell off the fire escape and was killed. "I tell him every day," says his mother, "he's a murderer. I ask him, how can I love a murderer." If we were to take a cross-sectional look at these mothers we would find them to be themselves the products of deprived and tyrannized childhoods. Most of them marry young, with a pathetic hope that they will find some of the infantile satisfactions they failed to have. All are ill equipped for parenthood and most do not want their children even some of the time. They meet the new burden usually by hostility and coldness for their marriage

partner "because I had all the pain and trouble and he did it to me." If they do not reject their children outright or make them the source of neurotic substitute satisfactions in place of the husband, they anxiously endeavor to be "good" mothers by some neighborhood, book or religious standard. Where ignorance, overcrowding and economic insecurity are added, the harried mother fights out in all directions, against her partner, her children, herself and sometimes the world. More often, however, the discharge against the environment takes the form of the socially approved object of wrath—the foreigner, the member of the minority group, the member of a different religious group, for this is less dangerous.

Cowering on the doorstep, climbing up to peek through windows at light and warmth; reaching for the comforting breast and being stuck with a pin; being made to sit on the potty for three hours before one is old enough to talk; having the scissors brandished over your crib and being threatened with the butcher knife for spontaneous reaching for the genital—these are the experiences of children, the more vivid because we see them as direct happenings and not as recalled infantile memories on the analyst's couch. They are occurrences today, in the 1940's, in the most favored nation in the world, occurrences that could be reduplicated by the millions. What is being done about them?

In the specific situations cited and what was done about them we see at work the "welfare" pattern with its variety of agencies, their ideals and limitations: community recreation centers, family and children's "case work" agencies, medical and psychiatric clinics.

One of the most popular solutions for "juvenile delinquency" in the public mind is supervised group recreation. Yet let us look at what actually happened to our gang of little boys. The director of the

servicemen's center went to the three settlement houses in the district asking for someone to organize block street activities for this group. All three settlement houses refused on the grounds that the children were "too tough." Because these children happened to come from Catholic families, she next approached the parish priest. The priest declined to have anything to do with the matter since the approach had come from the director of a center maintained by Protestant funds. In this city the police have public funds for recreation activities for children and it is their specific charge to provide them. Therefore the precinct police captain was approached. At first he refused to discuss the matter until he was threatened with a possible approach to his superiors. All he could or would suggest was to assign a patrolman to the street where the center was located. This the director was unwilling to have. Finally, although it was entirely out of the sphere for which her center was designated, and despite the fact that there was tremendous other pressure and no funds for work with children, the director cleared a room for afternoon activities for these children. A theological student volunteered as leader for the group, teaching the making of model airplanes and other work with tools. Occasionally some of the servicemen who came into the center joined the group. The children were so neglected that a de-lousing program had to be instituted. Some of them have over-attached themselves to the staff of the center and follow them around like puppies. Whether this afternoon workshop can continue is in the hands of a remote board of directors who will vote a budget according to their own and the contributors' interests. And even so it is only a partial solution. These children are still far from health, as they are from cleanliness, and there has been no way found to approach their homes.

The whole episode shows the difficulty in reaching basic problems through the

community recreation agencies. Each one operates with designated funds, often on a sectarian basis, and too often with a timid, disinterested staff. It has been said in professional social work circles that the community centers and settlement houses reach only two percent of the youth of the nation and some claim that these are the more passive youth—the “good boys and girls.” Perhaps this is because youth is too late to reach those who suffer most. Perhaps it is because the ones who are “too tough” are a threat rather than a challenge to leaders more versed in folk dances and handcrafts than in the life struggles of human beings.

The recreation agencies are apt to excuse themselves with the claim that acute problems are the responsibility of the case work agencies, that is, those family and children's agencies where each case may receive individual and if necessary prolonged help. This type of agency is unique in the United States and the quality of service has been steadily improving. But there are a number of blocks which remind us that usually a community-supported agency is compelled to operate at the level of average community attitudes. For example, in some family agencies a social worker may not initiate a discussion of contraception. No matter how the woman seeking help has hedged around the problem, or how apparent her need may be, the social worker may only respond to a concrete request with a referral to a birth control clinic. (Of course in Catholic agencies the subject is completely taboo.) Similarly, many agencies, when approached with marital difficulties, operate on the principle of “keep the family together at all cost.” I recall one case where a severely neurotic wife kept bringing complaints that her husband was threatening to leave her. For five years the agency worked with husband and wife to hold them together, using their responsibility toward their adolescent children as the

central focus. When finally the husband became psychotic, the agency assisted them to separate. Again, for many years it has been a principle in family agencies to have unmarried mothers keep their children, without regard for the feelings of the mother toward the child or toward the father of her child, or much consideration of the milieu in which the mother lives beyond whether it is “moral” or “immoral.” If it is “moral” the child is considered safe, and agencies are full of cases of “problem” children whose mothers, and too often grandparents as well, have taken out their guilt feelings on the child.

If the family agencies are limited by sharing average community attitudes, even more so the children's agencies, which arrange for and supervise the care of children outside their own homes. Growing out of rebellion against poor and overcrowded children's institutions, the contemporary pattern for care of children in the U.S. is that of placing them in foster homes where the foster parents are paid for the care of the child. Orphaned and destitute children are thus provided for at the expense of the state, as well as children remanded by the children's courts because of the neglect or moral unfitness of their parents. Individual parents may place children in foster homes under some circumstances through the children's agencies, paying all or part of the cost of care. In New York City, and in other cities, this program, even where it draws on public funds, is administered through private sectarian agencies. The theory behind the development of foster home care is that the child can receive individual attention and affection in a home which he could not in an institution. Homes are supposedly carefully selected, foster parents chosen for their “warm” personalities. Contact is maintained with both foster parents and child throughout the placement. Practically, however, many difficulties arise. There are never enough suitable homes

available, so that children are placed of necessity in "substandard" homes, or foster parents are urged to take a number of children when they have not the time or interest to give to many. The motives that lead people to wish foster children are often questionable. Aside from the financial motive, which is usually concealed, many are those who like to have someone dependent on them. Furthermore, the foster parent may at will decide not to keep the child. So that the agency records reveal over and over cases of children who are returned to the agency as they approach adolescence and are no longer so docile and dependent and the sexual problem will have to be faced; or children who are perpetually threatened with "if you don't behave I won't keep you here." A child who is just beginning to find some security in a home is often thrown off by the entry into the home of a more docile or prettier child "because the agency needed to use the home." But most important of all is the fact that the children who do not behave in accordance with the foster mother's standards will not be kept by foster parents, it being a business arrangement, with the agency retaining the moral responsibility for the child. Thus we see our children who are insecure, bad-tempered, destructive or enuretic, wandering from home to home. In a study of five boys whose I.Q. was normal but who could only perform on the subnormal level and were therefore in an institution for subnormal children, we found that all five had been in twelve or more foster homes.

Some of the children whose cases were cited earlier were receiving treatment at children's psychiatric clinics, either at the children's court, a hospital, or at one of the child guidance agencies. On the whole these children found more understanding of their difficulties than community recreation agencies or foster parents show. But even here we find amazing things. There was the student social worker who claimed

that a mother who rubbed her baby's face in feces was "not a rejecting mother." Yet this young innocent was responsible for the "treatment" of the mother. In the case of the six-year-old fire setter whose uncles had stood around the crib snipping the scissors, an attempt was made to remove him from the home, but no foster home or institution could be found which would accept a fire setter. The recital of cases could be endless of children who cannot be helped because there is no way to remove them from their destructive environment.

The recital could be as long of the doctors and social workers who cannot help children or parents because of their limited or erroneous knowledge or their own structural inadequacy to deal with human problems. Here the teaching institutions are at fault, both in the content of teaching, and in the formal and superficial method of admitting students for training. There is of course no doubt that more doctors and more social workers and more teachers are becoming aware of fundamental aspects of human behavior. I cannot speak for the physicians, but in my experience social workers are still handicapped in what they are willing or able to do with this awareness, particularly as it touches on sexual behavior. Many social workers are unable to discuss contraception with an overburdened mother, even if the agency has no prohibitive policy; or they mention it gingerly without taking the responsibility for working through the woman's fears, hesitations and ignorance. Practically none would tackle the contraceptive question with an unmarried client. Yet all these social workers (the Catholics excepted) are eager to affirm the principle of contraception and do, or expect to, practise it themselves. Similarly, or concomitantly perhaps, masturbation is seldom mentioned outside the psychiatric clinic. Our young social workers are taught to think of masturbation as a neurotic

symptom, and the fact is, they usually see only neurotic forms of it in the clinics where they are trained. Too often one finds in a record a statement such as "he was seen as a behavior problem: very destructive, crying a great deal, was restless and demanding, enuretic at night and bit his nails, but he had no real neurotic symptoms such as masturbation." Many young social workers go through a good deal of inner struggle in attempts to help the "unmarried mother" or the "out-of-wedlock" child. One young woman who had worked exclusively with such cases for two years spoke of the problems of explaining his status to the "out-of-wedlock" child. It had never occurred to her that she could in many cases put a positive interpretation on the experience of his parents. Her sole aim had been to help the child feel that he need not bear the burden of his mother's mistake, that he could make his own life. I must add that she was quite willing to discuss and to modify her approach when I challenged it. But the fact remains that for two years nothing in her or in her environment had raised the challenge.

For professional workers, our so-called "trained leadership," are the victims of the larger environment in which they grew up and in which they work. In the end it is the larger environment which must be changed. The solution does not lie in agencies, institutions, or professional training alone, however valuable these may be if they are good.

The environment is changing somewhat. A Sunday paper can now run a series of articles on infantile sex play. The Academy of Political Science devotes an issue of its *Annals* to the problems of youth. But the danger lies in the number of readers who will give intellectual assent and of necessity behave traditionally, especially if there is no opportunity for discussion, questioning, exchange of experience and relief of anxiety.

It is my conviction that there is first and

foremost the need for forming groups, particularly of mothers, and of youth, where sexual questions may be freely discussed and correct information be available. No other work seems more important than this if we are to really achieve change. Contraception, infantile sexuality, adolescent relationships, and adult sexual pleasure are the areas I see as important for discussion in such groups.

This is extremely difficult to do. We do not yet have enough experience to know the best approach to different kinds of groups. In my own experience with youth groups I have always found an expressed eagerness to discuss sexual matters, but if an evening is assigned for such a discussion, invariably only about half the group turns up. It is much easier to let a discussion develop spontaneously, as for example it often does on camping trips, and for a long time I was of the opinion that this was the only good way to handle the problem. Now, however, I always raise the question of why it is that these matters are not publicly discussed and hammer away at the need to have open discussion of sexual matters. In every group there are some who will try to throw the discussion. For example there was in one group a rigid Marxist who stood up at the end of the evening and made a summarizing speech, in which he cited Engels, pointed out that family and sexual mores were different in each different type of social organization, and concluded that since we now lived in a bourgeois society we had to conform to bourgeois concepts but that after the revolution things would probably be different. Or there was the youth leader who interrupted me at one meeting to say that an occasional evening of telling dirty stories was good in every group—it let off steam. But always there will be some who are thoughtful and eager. Often these are the ones who say least, and one of the problems is not to let the more aggressive

disrupters lead the group elsewhere or cause it to break up entirely.

With mothers' groups I have no experience. However, most nursery schools have active groups of parents, some even have study groups, some require a limited amount of service in the nursery. All these should be vehicles for discussion, though so far as I know these seldom approach the sexual question, or if they do it is merely in the area of how to tell children about sex. But we need experiment in this area as in the work with youth. We need to know more about how to handle subjects correctly and in such a way that we do not frighten and lose our audience. We need to know how and to what extent these subjects can be made part of a wider range of discussion. We need to know how to deal with the American sentimentality about family life, the fear of

neighborhood disapproval, and the shyness which relegates sexual matters among women to kitchen gossip and old wives' tales. We need to have successes and failures reported and analyzed.

In the long run, it is my belief that only in this type of difficult face-to-face work can we lay the foundation for the changed public attitude essential to a free society. The cases which illustrate this article remind us that the aggressive sexual suppression of children is brutal and widespread. The triumph of the political ideology of fascism depends on the mass support of fascist characters. These are being created by gross and subtle deprivation and suppression all around us. Individual work with individuals cannot bring the necessary changes. We must seek and find ways to broader action.

MY FIRST EXPERIENCES WITH THE ORGONE ACCUMULATOR

By WALTER HOPPE, M.D.

When the first orgone accumulator was built I felt some doubts: Will the accumulator, I asked myself, show the effects which Reich describes? I felt somewhat like A. S. Neill: those aspects of Reich's work which I felt myself able to judge gave me confidence in those contentions and experiments which I was unable to judge. As a psychologist and physician I could follow Reich a long way, and the guiding line of sex-economy and orgone research, "the identity of antitheses," was familiar to me. Thus I soon came to understand that professional and lay people, steeped in mechanistic and irrational thinking, and splitting up psyche and soma, spirit and nature, are incapable of experiencing their unity and identity. I was thus not astonished to find that most professional people displayed a suspicious or inimical attitude toward Reich's work. I was struck, nevertheless, when reputable physicians, who were incapable of any factual criticism, preferred to let their patients with inoperable cancer die rather than to undertake even an experiment with orgone therapy. I also may mention a typical discussion with a psychoanalyst. "I wouldn't act any differently," he said, "after all, a physician cannot risk being considered a charlatan, and he would be, because the orgone accumulator is not officially recognised." When I pointed out that such opportunism makes any scientific progress impossible, he admitted that, true, this attitude on the part of the physicians was wrong, but, he said, it was psychologically understandable.

My initial doubts disappeared with the first experimental observations. The observations of prickling sensations and slight rise in body temperature were readily con-

firmed. Immediately, the sceptical critics pointed to the possibility of suggestion and reminded me of Christian Science. However, the possibility of suggestion was ruled out in a number of people who knew nothing of these reactions beforehand and who spontaneously reported the prickling sensations.

I myself was my first experimental patient, when I used the accumulator after a minor operation. The surgeon was at first surprised at the rapidity of the healing process. When I told him about my orgone experiment, however, he suddenly found it "normal" and nothing to be astonished about. My second experiment was made with a child who presented a number of cutaneous abscesses. Even after only one treatment the abscesses receded, and after five further treatments they had completely disappeared. The pediatrician could not deny the effect, but he denied the connection with the orgone irradiation, because if the orgone effect were a fact, he argued, it would be known all over the world. In the meantime, the child developed some new abscesses; again, they began to recede rapidly after the first orgone treatment.

In most patients who were underweight, orgone treatment led, in a relatively short time, to an increase in weight, improved appetite and better blood circulation in the skin. In anemic patients, the hemoglobin content and the number of erythrocytes increased. The B-reaction as described by Reich could be observed in all cases. In all people who used the accumulator regularly over a considerable period of time I was able to observe that colds were completely absent or appeared only in a very light form.

My experiences with severe biopathies

are as yet few. A patient with carcinoma of the liver in the last stages could not be saved from death, although at first there was considerable symptomatological improvement. The same was the case with a rare form of tumor, a progressed pseudomyxoma. One patient with a severe cardiovascular disturbance, when he felt strong enough, undertook, against medical advice, a long walk under a tropical mid-day sun which resulted in a relapse.

I would like to mention the case of a 5-months-old infant. The mother used the orgone accumulator during the whole period of pregnancy, with excellent results

for both mother and child. The child, who still receives daily orgone treatment, is very vigorous and shows a strikingly good blood circulation in the skin. Thus far, it has not suffered a single cold, intestinal disturbance or other disease; for this, the self-regulation of the child is undoubtedly also responsible.

In summary, I would say that one might try to interpret away individual positive results by other explanations, but that the results in their totality, in complete accordance with Reich's observations, speak an unequivocal language.

NOTES

IS THE ORGONE ATOMIC ENERGY?

A biology student sent us the following question: "I am wondering very much what Dr. Reich thinks about the 'atomic bomb.' With people's character structures the way they are, I can't help feeling that it's disastrous that this new source of power has been discovered. Does Dr. Reich have any idea about what the relationship to orgone is? All this business of calling it solar energy, cosmic, etc., makes it sound awfully much like orgone."

Answer: Your surmise is correct. Orgone energy is in fact nothing but "atomic" energy in its original and natural form. This statement calls for some amplification. The physicists' classical concepts of the atoms are hypothetical. The atoms themselves, in the sense of mechanistic physics, are not ultimate units, but are composed of energy particles, no matter whether one calls these particles electrons, neutrons, etc., or whether one calls them orgone energy particles. In this sense it is incorrect to speak of "atomic" energy, for it is a matter of *subatomic* energy which composes and holds together the smallest particles of matter. It is correct that the amounts of energy necessary for the formation of a single particle of matter are of such gigantic proportions as to be inconceivable. Orgone physics has already arrived at definite concepts of how orgone energy particles form atomic and molecular units of matter, though they are not ripe for publication at this time.

The atom energy of the mechanists is produced by smashing matter; that is, the exact opposite process would have to be employed in order to produce matter from the primary energy. We do not believe that it will be possible to utilize this energy for useful purposes by means of the process which was invented for the

making of the atomic bomb. A great many physicists also doubt it.

Orgone energy represents subatomic energy in its *original* and *natural* form ("primary cosmic energy"). The *slowness* of all organotic processes distinguishes it from the *explosive* processes of "atomic energy." This characteristic of orgone energy makes it available for useful purposes, such as the charging of living tissues, the sterilization of the blood, etc. One might even say that the way in which man reacts to these two basically different processes and forms of atomic energy reflects the antithesis between rigid mechanism and alive functionalism. The smashing of matter in the case of the atomic bomb is the opposite of the peaceful concentration of orgone energy. The explosive suddenness of the energy of the atomic bomb is the opposite of the slowness of all organotic processes. The sterility and dreadfulness of mechanistic thinking which produced gunpowder, dynamite and now the atomic bomb finds its counterpart in functional thinking which is constructive, life-affirmative and one with the life process itself. The horror at the "discovery" of the atomic bomb has its counterpart in the quiet but glowing enthusiasm of anyone who works with orgone energy or experiences its therapeutic effects.

It is characteristic of our mechanistic civilization that it develops full unity of purpose when it is a matter of war aims but disintegrates when it is a matter of affirming and protecting human life. Medical and biological laboratories do not get the same government subsidies that technical laboratories get. The two billion dollars which were spent for the construction of the atomic bomb make the amounts spent for medical purposes look infinitesimal.

tesimal. While the discovery of the murder instrument made a noise heard around the world, honest and industrious scientists have been working on the cosmic energy for a decade, for the good of humanity, without ever receiving as much as a penny from the social administration for the support of their work. We consider the discovery of the explosive form of atomic energy the greatest disaster which has ever befallen humanity. There is a ray of hope: It could happen, with the logic and con-

sistency of the life process, that the cosmic energy in its *natural* form, in the form of our orgone energy, might put the atomic energy in its *murderous* form out of function. Of course, nobody can foresee when and how the murderous, mechanistic spirit will be overcome by the life-affirmative spirit of the biological energy. At any rate, this Institute is at one with those who did not participate in the false enthusiasm over a monstrous outrage but protested against it.

ORGONOTIC CONTACT. LETTER FROM A READER

In his article, "Anorgonia in the carcinomatous shrinking biopathy" in the last issue of the JOURNAL, Reich discussed the occurrence of falling anxiety in an infant as a consequence of an attack of anorgonia due to some yet unexplained influence, either of the rapid cooling of the skin or of a slight variation in the routine of laying the child down after the bath.

In this connection I should like to report an experience which confronted me 7 years ago with a person who—through empirical knowledge and keen observation of infant behavior—already evaluated these facts although unable to find an explanation for them. The person was the infant nurse who took care of my child from his birth on. She was an extremely experienced person with an unusual understanding of infants' needs. The latter was not based on the so-called "motherly instinct," but on systematic observation of infant behavior over a period of many years. She used to accept the care of an infant only when she was allowed to be present during the delivery. When I had gotten to know her well and had gained her confidence, I asked her for an explanation of this request, which I had felt she would not have given during the first interview. She told me the following reason: Experience had taught her that there are two types of mothers: the ones who are able to give their children what she called "bodily love"

—and which represents nothing else but Reich's concept of organotic contact—and the ones who lack this ability. In the latter case, unfortunately the most frequent, she took over this essential care. That she was fully aware of the importance of this factor for the further development of the child was proved by her words: "Even if I know very well that the child will miss this most essential quality in his mother forever it is my conviction that the lively bodily contact with another woman during these first weeks of life under my care will fortify his system." The decision as to whether she could trust this bodily contact to the mother or had to take it over herself was based on observation of the behavior of the mother during delivery and the first reaction of mother and child toward each other right after birth.

When my child was supposed to have his first bath (according to European hospital routine of that period, during the second week of his life) she asked me "to leave her completely alone and to watch her quietly." Even in those rare cases where she confined herself to the mere gratification of needs which the mother could not yet fulfil on account of her weakness, she had come to the conviction that the proper handling of the first bath represented such an important factor for the future development of the child that she did not want to take any risks. Her words were: "At the

risk of your saying I'm crazy, I have to tell you that the first bath of your child determines the future course of his life. Either he acquires a wonderful capacity of feeling pleasure which sticks to him for his whole life and makes him open for the experience of happiness, or, if the slightest mistake is made, he gets falling anxiety and will be timid and afraid for the rest of his life." After a little pause she smiled and added: "And the strangest part of it is that I don't know myself what causes the falling anxiety, but I guess it has something to do with the proper temperature of the bath and the air in the room when the child is taken out of the bath. I am not quite sure myself of creating the proper conditions in every case, but I know one thing: my experience of years will give me a better chance of avoiding the danger of falling anxiety than all those qualities which one calls so romantically 'motherly instinct.'" As a matter of fact my child had the most happy feeling during his bath, evident by

his facial expression, and this feeling appears with every bath up to now. Whenever he dawdles in the tub in that pleasurable way which gives the onlooker the feeling that there is a hidden activity in the process of dawdling, he answers the request to come out of the water with the words: "But I have that feeling, you know."

It may be of interest to note that this nurse did not have any theoretical knowledge of orgone biophysics. She told me that she had made it the goal of her life to give protection to children when she was 5 years old. At that time, she lived with her father and a very cruel stepmother. They used to lock her alone in the house when they went out. One day the house caught fire when they were away and she could not get out. Neighbors saved her life with great difficulty. That day she decided to become a baby nurse in order to help children whose mothers would not "function."

"A NEW DISEASE"

TIME, January 29, 1945, in the section MEDICINE, reports the following:

HEARTSICKNESS

"Dear Jim: I have been thinking the whole thing over and I now see that it wasn't wise for us to be married. I don't want to hurt you, but . . ."

A serviceman's wife writing thus to her husband probably suffers from a condition whose other symptoms include severe depressions, colitis, heart palpitations, diarrhea, frequent headaches. Described as a "new disease" by Dr. Jacob Sergi Kasanin, chief psychiatrist at San Francisco's Mt. Zion Hospital, this psychoneurotic condition by last week had become so prevalent among service wives that San Francisco psychiatrists were begging county authorities for the use of hospital wards to treat their patients. . . .

Those women who, like Penelope, have the sense to stay home or go back to it

and keep busy, preferably at a war job, are apt to find adjustment easier. But others, particularly those recently married or childless, often develop pathological reactions in the form of physiological disturbances, resentment against the husband, inability to recall the husband's face or to sense the reality of the married state, vague fears of infidelity. . . .

Many such neurotic women find escape in throwing off marriage ties, becoming floozies or barflies. Many find a complete cure in receiving their husband's first letter, or even his allotment check, either of which can serve to reaffirm the idea of marriage in the sick wife's mind. . . .

Now, the symptoms of this "new disease" are physiological disturbances, such as colitis, heart palpitations, diarrhea, frequent headaches; and depressions, resentment against the husband, inability to recall the husband's face or to sense the reality of the

married state, vague fears of infidelity. Essentially, then, they are the symptoms of more or less acute *sexual stasis*, caused by the husband's absence. It is remarkable how a syndrome which Freud, as long ago as 1896, described as anxiety neurosis and recognized to be caused by sexual frustration, can be so consistently overlooked. It is as if the physicians had made up their minds that this syndrome should not be recognized. They have it under their very noses every day of the week, but instead of recognizing it they go on discovering it as a "new disease," always carefully overlooking its simple etiology which is obvious to any halfway healthy layman.

Is it psychoneurotic if a woman realizes that the marriage was a mistake? Most "war marriages" are gone into hastily, the marriage certificate being felt to be a certificate of permission to engage in the sexual act, and not with the real intention of building a marriage. When the husband is absent, the marriage certificate no longer fulfils its function, for with the husband the activity for which it gives permission is also gone. On the contrary, its function becomes reversed: now it prohibits the establishment of a sexual relationship with another man. Its having become nothing but a prohibitive tie, is it psychoneurotic if the woman wants to get rid of it?

Is it psychoneurotic if a woman, deprived of sexual gratification, develops "physiological disturbances"? No, such disturbances are the normal result of sexual stasis.

Is "inability to sense the reality of the married state" psychoneurotic? When the basis of the married state, a sexual partnership, is absent?

Are "vague fears of infidelity" psychoneurotic? Here we come to the crux of the problem, the point of intersection between medical fact and moralistic demand. As a matter of fact, "vague fears of infidelity" are psychoneurotic, but not in the way the classical psychiatrist or the moralist would have it. The moralist will say that

they are "bad," that the woman should not have "such thoughts." How can she help it, being, as she is, sexually frustrated? What is psychoneurotic here is not that the woman thinks of extramarital sexual gratification but that these thoughts take the form of "vague fears." If the woman were not psychoneurotic, that is, sexually inhibited, she would be confronted with a clear-cut problem: the problem that she lacks sexual gratification and consequently suffers from sexual stasis with all its psychic and somatic sequelae. Instead of "vague fears" she would have a rational, conscious conflict. If she decides, in order to safeguard her health, to establish a sexual relationship with another man, no moralist has the right to blame her or to interfere with her. That does not mean that such women "find escape in throwing off marriage ties, becoming floozies or barflies." In fact, it is not an escape at all, but a rational solution which implies more responsibility than the escape into a psychoneurosis. More than that, the majority of those who turn into "floozies and barflies" are precisely those who were unable to take such a responsible step and engage in all kinds of sexual activities short of the sexual act. Thus, though promiscuous, they uphold the illusion that they are "faithful" to their husbands, merely because they abstain from actual sexual intercourse. Others do engage in sexual intercourse, more or less promiscuously, being careful not to establish a real relationship with another man, again upholding the illusion that they are really "faithful" to their husbands, because their casual sexual relationships "don't mean anything." Instead of condemning such women moralistically, one should realize that their authoritarian antisexual upbringing has made them incapable of rationally solving their sexual conflicts, that they are promiscuous not because they are "bad" but because they have been made incapable of establishing a healthy sexual relationship. Such problems

of human relationships have always been with us, but the war has made them acute. It is regrettable that leading psychiatrists, instead of helping people to see these prob-

lems as they are, help to camouflage them by high-sounding theories about "new diseases."

A NOTE ON "FAMILY COHESION"

Certain statements in a recent article on "Some Factors in Family Cohesion"¹ aroused considerable public interest, being taken up, for example, in the Science and in the Letters sections of TIME under the heading "Double Beds & Divorce" and made the basis of an article, "Bed Without Boredom" in the magazine PAGEANT. Montagu states, for example: "The fact alone that husband and wife share the same bed is in itself a symbol of unity to them and to their children. Where separate beds are occupied there develops a peculiar sense of separateness which imperceptibly has significant effects upon both parents and children. The worst form (*sic*) of this separation is, of course, the occupation of separate bedrooms by the parents. . . . I do suggest that those sleeping arrangements constitute an important contributory factor not only to the degree and quality of the cohesion of the family but also to the personal development of each member of it. It seems to me that the experience of sharing the same bed being one of the most intimate and prolonged forms of behavior which two persons can enjoy together . . . will inevitably tend to produce an identification of one with the other . . . amounting as near to identity as it is possible to achieve. Taken together with all the other experiences which husband and wife share in common this constitutes one of the strongest means of cementing the marriage tie conceivable. . . . One might even suggest that were the double bed for husband and wife the rule in this country the divorce rate would probably be appreciably lower than it is. It may or may not be of some significance but it is a fact that the

divorce-rate in the various social classes is highest in the separate-bedroom class and lowest in the double-bed class."

Now, all depends on whether one looks at these things from an ideological or from a medical standpoint. There is no doubt that sleeping arrangements have a profound influence on family cohesion on the one hand as well as on happiness and health on the other; only, the effect is opposite. The family ideologists make no distinction between the compulsive family and natural family relationships; they consider the family something absolute, even biologically given; thus, they are only interested in the "cohesion" of the family, in "means of cementing the marriage tie" and means of reducing the "divorce-rate." The whole interest is centered on the institution of marriage and what people do to it; the question as to what it does to people recedes into the background. Now, it is undoubtedly true that "the fact alone that husband and wife share the same bed is in itself a symbol of unity to them and to their children." A *symbol*! Is a symbol of unity the same thing as unity?

Now let us look at the double bed not with ideological but with sex-economic eyes. Sleeping arrangements are undoubtedly one of the most important factors in sexual hygiene. A large, comfortable bed is one of the most primitive prerequisites of a satisfactory sex life. But that means a bed in which the sexual partners *can* sleep together when they *want to*, and not one in which they *must* sleep because it is there. The double bed as an institution kills spontaneity like any other institution. A young man of my acquaintance had had a very satisfactory sexual relationship for some time. Then he married

¹ M. F. Ashley Montagu: Some Factors in Family Cohesion. *Psychiatry* 7, 1944, 349.

his girl, they moved together and had a double bed. After a while, he noticed that he was less sexually attracted to his wife than before. This illustrates a fact which is commonly overlooked: *the dulling of sexual desire* that occurs in any lasting sexual relationship.¹ What interests us here is only the fact that this dulling may occur sooner or later, and be more or less serious, depending, primarily, on good or poor conditions of sexual hygiene; and that there are few things which will lead to this dulling faster than the double bed. Physiological laws are not invalidated by ideologies. One such law is that any stimulus, if exerted continuously, loses its strength. When bodily contact, under conditions of constant physical proximity, loses its strength as a stimulus, it becomes a mere habit. What is more, the double bed *forces* people to sleep together, and who could honestly say that he always wants to sleep with another person? Or that he or she always wants to go to bed at the same time the partner does? So one suppresses one's wish to stay up longer, to finish an article or book or whatnot, in order not to disturb the partner, and this will, as Montagu has it, "inevitably tend to produce an identification of one with the other . . . amounting as near to identity as it is possible to achieve." An identification in what? With regard to a view of life, with regard to the correct way of bringing up children, etc.? No, with regard to bedtime habits—certainly an identification on a puny level. Why should not two people who live together—who share their bed when they want to—retain their individuality? Every psychotherapist who works not in the interest of an authoritarian ideology of family and marriage but in the interest of his patients' health knows the hatred against the partner resulting from such "identification," i.e., from the suppression of one's own individual wishes. This hatred

is usually repressed and appears only in its counterpart, a sticky sentimentality which serves to cover up the hatred and which then—after a natural relationship is no longer present—constitutes "one of the strongest means of cementing the marriage tie conceivable."

The psychotherapist also knows some of the reasons why people sleep in double beds. One patient not only slept with her husband in a double bed (which also was too small) but she would hold on to him tightly all night. She thought she did this because "it was so nice to be close together," but found out later that it was an infantile pattern of warding off anxiety. Now, it may be that such infantile patterns "cement the marriage tie," but there also can be no doubt that they make a healthy, adult sexual life impossible. In other people, the motive for the double-bed arrangement is that of "doing what the parents always did," something which had the connotation of being forbidden and which marriage now has made "permitted." Whatever the infantile motives may be, they are usually strongly repressed and vigorously rationalized.

PAGEANT quotes a number of people on the subject. Most of these utterances are merely an expression of subjective opinion; two, however, one by a minister and the other by a physician, are worth mentioning. The minister, John Haynes Holmes, states: "Twin beds and separate bedrooms may be described as last steps in the process of women's emancipation. Marriage in primitive days was a matter of capture or purchase. . . . A woman's body was at the free disposal of the husband, belonging to him like a piece of property, and to be enjoyed at his pleasure. A woman, therefore, occupied her husband's bed as a slave waited upon his table. . . . The emancipation of women has been a struggle for the recognition of the rights and dignities of her individuality as a person. . . . We have now reached the stage in marriage—or are in

¹ Cf. W. Reich: *THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION*, Orgone Institute Press, 1945.

the process of reaching it—where a woman's body is her own, to be given to her husband at her discretion as a gift of love, and not to be surrendered to him at his dictation." The therapist may add that the safeguarding of individuality is no less important for the man, and that the compulsive atmosphere of the double bed tends to reactivate infantile attitudes; one has only to remember how many men call their wives "mother" or "mom"!

The other quotation is from Dr. Joseph A. Gaines, "a prominent gynecologist": "In most instances, after three to five years of married life, sexual gratification reaches a physiological norm which is probably not varied by nocturnal proximity." What is this "physiological norm," and why is it reached after three to five years of married

life? It is what we referred to as the "dulling" of sexual desire. There can be no doubt that this dulling is accelerated and aggravated by compulsive "nocturnal proximity." We have here an example of the dangerous use of the term "norm." True, that sexual desire diminishes and the sexual act becomes mainly a matter of habit is a "norm" in our society in the sense that it happens in the average marriage. However, that does not make it "normal." If it were, the sex life during the first three to five years of marriage, before this "physiological norm" is reached, would be "abnormal." The widespread sexological ignorance and confusion among physicians is an important factor in the perpetuation and often in the creation of neuroses.

SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENT SEX RELATIONSHIPS

Few parents are able to give support and practical help to their adolescent children in establishing healthy sexual relationships. Some are tolerant, "wink" at situations they observe and keep hands off. Others refrain from interfering in an attitude of helpless confusion. Some attempt help in a wrong way. Some are punitive.

Some situations come to mind where parents were able, however, to show the understanding and help that most adolescents only find in friends outside the family. In one case two young art students formed a relationship. The girl was always welcome to stay at the home of the boy, where the relationship was accepted as natural. When the couple continued to be together, after more than a year, the girl's family, which had a large room suitable for a studio, invited the boy and girl to live and work there, which they did. The two families had no contact with one another, as their interests were different, and no one raised the question of formal marriage.

A boy who had grown up in a socialist

trade union family was always free to bring home over night or for a longer visit the girl in whom he was currently interested. The adolescent boys in this family had no separate entrance but they did have a separate floor.

A college girl writing from her home to a friend who was coming to the city where she lived to see a soldier wrote: "We'll be glad to put you both up. You'll have the whole floor to yourself and you can sleep together or not as you like."

One family seems unusual enough to discuss in detail. They lived in a suburb of a large city. There were four adolescents, three boys and a girl. These young people were housed in one wing of the house which had its own entrance. The parents in this home were anxious to avoid degrading sexual experiences for their children, and wished to encourage natural and healthy relationships. They asked their children to bring their sexual partners home, where privacy and understanding were assured. They also asked that any friends who stayed overnight be brought to breakfast. This operated to exclude

partners who would not face the family, whose attitudes toward a sexual relationship were guilty, pornographic or exploitive. The parents always took great interest in the young people their children brought home, made friends with them, and to many young people this contact with the parents was one of the most enriching parts of the experience. These children grew up with a contempt for pornography, promiscuity and irresponsibility in love relationships. The boys were responsible in discussing and helping their girls with contraceptive information. In one instance one of the boys found a doctor and accompanied his girl to have a diaphragm fitted. The daughter's first partner was a great favorite in the family, and spent a good deal of time there, even after the relationship was over. All of these children made happy marriages at an appropriate age.

Two contrasting examples show family help in a wrong direction. In one instance an older brother encouraged the younger to overcome his sexual fears, but insisted after his first intercourse that he should never see that particular girl again. The purpose undoubtedly was to prevent the boy from forming too great an attachment on the basis of too little sexual knowledge, but if the boy were decent and healthy he could have been trusted to find his own way as the relationship ran its natural course. In the second instance a father found two adolescent sons engaged in mutual masturbation. He said, "Now you are old enough to have a woman." He forthwith took them to a bawdy house and supervised their initiation. One boy continued a regular patron for years and never formed a deeper sexual attachment. The other boy reacted with disgust and at an early age married a woman from a strict puritan background.

But the situation of most adolescents is far from as good as this. Probably the back seat of the automobile, or the living room

sofa is the most common place for first intercourse. One girl described her experience in an automobile. She had to take her dress off so that it wouldn't be wrinkled when she got home. She didn't dare take the rest of her clothes off for fear she would be undressed if a cruising police car should check up on them for parking in an out-of-the-way place. This actually did happen and she hid under the automobile robe while the boy drove the car off. Another girl described first intercourse on the living room sofa where her mother walked in during the act and called her a whore, with an additional stream of biblical quotation. Still another girl described first intercourse on the floor of a laboratory in a coeducational college.

When boys and girls are a little older, if they live in large enough communities, they are apt to find some friends who have living quarters of their own. In one such case one member of a circle of friends had an apartment which was loaned to her friends in turn for their dates. This at least is better, but hardly creates an atmosphere of ease and makes the occasion take on the flavor of the Victorian assignation. People need to be able to have their loved partners with them *where they live*, and the whole problem of living arrangements for adolescents and unmarried young adults is a critical one.

One of the most difficult problems for the adolescent girl is accessibility to proper contraceptives. Many girls rely on the condom or withdrawal if the boy is willing. If not, they take incredible chances, counting on the theory of the "safe period," or relying on a douche, or on jellies. Girls who rely on a douche are apt to feel they must get up at once when intercourse is over and rush to clean up. It is not easy for an adolescent girl to get a diaphragm. The birth control clinics will not help her. Many private doctors will refuse because of her youth. One girl asked her family doctor for help, in terror however, lest he

tell her parents. Other adolescents have gone to unknown doctors, and it is not uncommon to hear that the doctors have made sexual advances to these girls.

Many urban non-Catholic parents will help an unmarried daughter to have an abortion if she becomes pregnant. In one instance a clergyman's wife defended abortion, citing the case of a girl whose "life had not been ruined," because she had been spared the disgrace of an illegitimate child. But these parents usually expect that the "narrow escape from disgrace" has taught a lesson and that their daughters will now abstain from sexual relations until marriage. Illegal abortion is very widespread, and is apt to be carried out under conditions that are in themselves traumatic. One eighteen-year-old, resting in an anteroom after such an operation, heard the doctor comment to his nurse, "See what a nice class of patients I have." The descriptions of establishments near coeducational schools are hair-raising.

Abortions, however, should be unnecessary. The case of a twenty-year-old student who had had four abortions is an indictment of the whole conspiracy against adequate contraceptive information. The generation is passing of mothers who could not give their daughters contraceptive information because they themselves did not know. But the writer has never encountered a girl who received contraceptive information from her mother, though there have been a number who were able

to discuss it with their mothers after they had eventually found out elsewhere. Contraceptive information, of course, circulates among girls, but there is no guarantee that the information is reliable. In the same way addresses of abortionists circulate via the grapevine of friends. But there is no guarantee that at the time when one is needed he will not have been closed up by the police, or have jacked his price up beyond what the girl involved can collect from among her friends. Prices of abortions seem to vary according to the degree of police vigilance, ranging on the whole from \$50 to \$300—prohibitive to adolescents who have only their own resources to draw upon.

The adolescent has also the problem of possible legal prosecution if he is under age. One father instructed his sixteen-year-old son to be careful to choose only girls over eighteen and to always give his own age as eighteen.

In this morass of practical difficulties and the often sordid results, it is not surprising that many adults turn against their own adolescent sex experiences and take suppressive measures toward their children in the hope that they will thus be spared unpleasant and difficult times. Few are able to say that their own experience was under difficulties and that they will use their ingenuity to make it less difficult for their sons and daughters. Still fewer will join the open fight to change the social attitudes that perpetuate these difficulties.

A NOTE FROM THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

The average person often forgets, if he ever knew, the conditions under which pioneer discoveries have usually had to be made, and the stupidity shown by the organized interests of professional science, by the state, and by the public with regard to pioneer work. Yet the history of science is primarily such a history.

One is struck with this again in reading

the biography of Madame Curie.¹ In order to try to isolate radium, whose existence they had established through observation of its effects, the Curies had to secure their own pitchblende, pay for its transportation from Austria, find a place where they

¹ MADAME CURIE, A BIOGRAPHY, by Eve Curie. Translated by Vincent Sheean. New York. Doubleday Doran and Co., 1937.

could work since they had no laboratory. At this time their income was five hundred francs a month, which Pierre Curie earned at teaching, for the support of themselves, their child and their work. They found a shed without a floor behind the School of Physics and were given permission to work here. Eve Curie describes it:

The shed in the Rue Lhomond surpassed the most pessimistic expectations of discomfort. In summer, because of its skylights, it was stifling as a hothouse. In winter one did not know whether to wish for rain or frost; if it rained, the water fell drop by drop, with a soft nerve-racking noise, on the ground or on the worktables, in places which the physicists had to mark in order to avoid putting apparatus there. If it froze, one froze. There was no recourse. The stove even when it was stoked white, was a complete disappointment. If one went near enough to touch it one received a little heat, but two steps away and one was back in the zone of ice.

It was almost better for Marie and Pierre Curie to get used to the cruelty of the outside temperature, since their technical installation—hardly existent—possessed no chimneys to carry off noxious gases, and the greater part of their treatment had to be made in the open air, in the courtyard. When a shower came the physicists hastily moved their apparatus inside. . . .

Marie Curie was tubercular, yet they worked four years in such conditions, from 1898 till 1902. Marie Curie afterwards wrote of the time:

We had no money, no laboratory, and no help . . . I sometimes passed the whole day stirring a mass in ebullition, with an iron rod nearly as big as myself. In the evening I was broken with fatigue.

It is interesting to remember that Pierre Curie failed of election to the Academy of Science in 1902, and to a vacant chair at the Sorbonne in physical chemistry in 1898

and to one in mineralogy in 1902. Both these dubious honors came to him after the Nobel award in 1903 when he needed them less, but he was still without a laboratory in 1906 when he died.

In 1902, Paul Appell endeavored to propose Pierre Curie for the Legion of Honor, and even begged Madame Curie to try to influence her husband to present himself for this. His reply to Appell was:

Please be so kind as to thank the Minister and to inform him that I do not feel the slightest need of being decorated, but I am in the greatest need of a laboratory.

In 1909, twelve years after the work on radium was begun and seven after it had been effectively isolated, the Pasteur Institute offered to build a laboratory for Madame Curie. At this point the University stepped forward and also took an active part in the project, contributing an equal amount, lest it lose Madame Curie's name and reputation for the University.

Later, when the shed in the Rue Lhomond had become a romantic legend, Madame Curie wrote:

It is true that the discovery of radium was made in precarious conditions. . . . But this romantic element was not an advantage: it wore out our strength and delayed our accomplishment. With better means, the first five years of our work might have been reduced to two, and their tension lessened.

The life of productive people is of necessity outside the usual routines. There is no time and no inclination for paying and receiving visits and engaging in chit chat on petty or larger affairs. In this respect the life of the Curies was characteristic. In 1896 Madame Curie writes her brother:

We see nobody but the D's and my husband's parents. We hardly ever go to the theatre and allow ourselves no diversions.

At Easter . . . we shall go off on an excursion.

Of the period in the shed Madame Curie writes later:

We saw only a very few persons at the laboratory; among the physicists and chemists there were a few who came from time to time, either to see our experiments or to ask for advice from Pierre Curie.

In 1904, after the Nobel prize had made the Curies publicity objects, Pierre Curie writes in despair to a friend:

Collectors of autographs, snobs, society people and sometimes even scientists come to see us in the magnificent establishment in the Rue Lhomond which you know. With all this, there is not a moment of tranquillity in the laboratory. . . . I can feel myself being overwhelmed by brute stupidity.

Madame Curie in retrospect was to sum up the matter thus:

The fatigue resulting from an effort which surpassed our strength and which had been imposed upon us by the unsatisfactory physical conditions of our work, was increased by the invasion of publicity. The shattering of our voluntary isolation was a cause of real suffering to us and had all the effects of a disaster.

The post Nobel prize success has classic irony. In 1904 Pierre Curie was offered a chair of Physics at the Sorbonne but without a laboratory. In 1905 he was elected to the Academy of Science by a marginal vote. He writes of this:

I find myself in the Academy without having desired to be there and without the Academy's desire to have me. . . . I had against me the lack of sympathy of the clericals and of those who thought I had not paid enough calls.

And twice later he comments: "The interest of the meetings is null"; and finally, "I have not yet discovered what is the use of the Academy."

Nor were the endeavors, of Madame Curie in particular, free of the usual mechanisms of the emotional plague. In 1911, when Madame Curie was proposed for the Academy of Science one member declared in virtuous indignation, "Women cannot be a part of the Institute of France." Informers declared to the Catholics that Madame Curie was a Jewess and recalled to freethinkers that she was born a Catholic. She failed of election.

But far more important and painful was a gossip campaign in 1911. Because Madame Curie worked among men and had her associations among men, perhaps because she was the first woman appointed to a professorship at the Sorbonne, because she lived a life reserved from public view she was accused, says Eve Curie, of breaking up homes. She was pestered with anonymous letters and publicly threatened with violence. She was described as "a Jewess", "a Pole", "a foreigner." So severe and prolonged was the attack that Madame Curie fell ill and left Paris for a time. It did not help her nor further her work that some of those who had attacked her sought personally to beg her pardon later on.

THE POSITION OF SEX-ECONOMY. A CLARIFICATION

Sex-economy continues to be referred to as a "variation" of psychoanalysis, as a "deviation to the left" of Freudian psychoanalysis or as a "rebellion" against it similar to the theories of Adler, Jung, Rank and others. One marvels again and

again at man's slavery to slogans when he is confronted with something *new*. For example, Wilhelm Reich is called a "Marxist," his various published statements notwithstanding.

Sex-economy is not a "deviation" from

psychoanalysis or a "rebellion" against Freud. In *THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORGONE*, vol. 1 (*THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGASM*, 1942), Reich clearly presented the following facts: Sex-economy grew out of questions of *natural science* which, to begin with, had nothing to do with psychoanalysis; the orgasm theory developed in connection with psychoanalysis and in the framework of the psychoanalytic organization, but it developed *autonomously* with regard to its biophysical core; sex-economy was refuted by the psychoanalysts from the very beginning; this refutation ended in Reich's expulsion from the International Psychoanalytic Association; sex-economy made important contributions to psychoanalytic theory and brought about changes in it; finally, on the basis of the orgasm theory—which is an orgone-biophysical and *not* a psychoanalytic achievement—sex-economy opened an avenue of approach to *biogenesis* and to the *discovery of the cosmic orgone*.

There is no better proof for the autonomous growth of the orgasm theory than the fact that it was never accepted

by psychoanalysis. The principle of energetic functionalism is foreign to psychoanalytic thinking. Orgone biophysics grew in part from the natural-scientific *criticism* of psychoanalytic metaphysics. The statement that sex-economy is a variation of psychoanalysis has no basis in fact. Our publications make clear what sex-economy owes to its contact with psychoanalysis.

If Wilhelm Reich is a "Marxist" he is also a "Bergsonian" for he is for Bergson's functionalism. He is also a "Copernican," a "Keplerian," a "Galileist," a "Pasteurist" as well as a "Marxist" and a "Freudian," for in his practical work he uses the Copernican System, the pendulum laws of Galileo, Kepler's law of harmony and Pasteur's techniques as well as Marx's theory of value and Freud's libido theory.

It is in the interest of the further development of orgone biophysics to stress its *autonomy* and *originality* as well as its connections with other sciences. To overlook this autonomy and originality is against the interests of honest scientific endeavor.

A. S. NEILL AND SEX-ECONOMY. A CORRECTION

On March 14, 1945, we sent the following letter to International University Press, publishers of A. S. Neill's book, *THE PROBLEM TEACHER*:

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate it if you would be kind enough to correct a misinterpretation which occurred in your circular, "New Important and Forthcoming Books, 1945." The recommendation of Neill's book, *THE PROBLEM TEACHER*, runs as follows: ". . . Mr. Neill who runs his famous school in England on the sex-economic principles of Reich, is a radical in progressive reform, and the free sexuality he advocates has had exciting and heartening results." The misinterpretation is this:

Neill ran his school on his *own* principles long before he got acquainted with Wilhelm Reich's sex-economy. For the first time in 1935 did Neill begin to apply some sex-economic principles in his educational organization.

In this correction the fact should also be mentioned that the sex-economic principle is not identical with what people call "*free sexuality*." The word "free" is very much misused and, therefore, misleading. A note on this question will appear in the next issue of the "International Journal of Sex-economy and Orgone-Research."¹

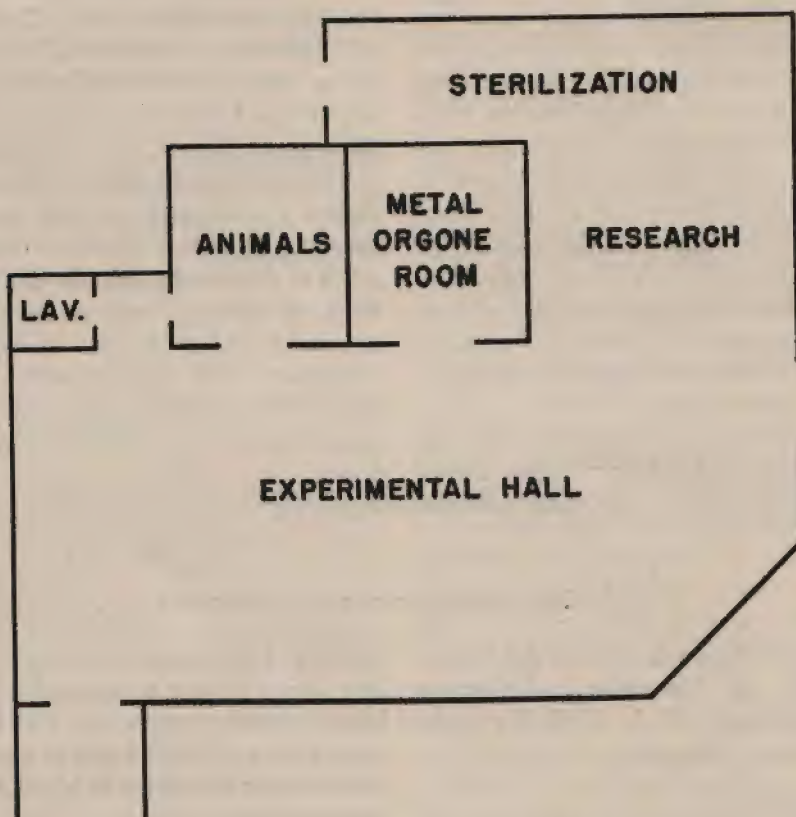
We are sure you will agree that a proper correction would be advisable.

¹ See "Free Love," *This Journal* 4, 1945, 104.

FROM THE ORGONE INSTITUTE

Incorporation. On April 30, 1945, the laboratories of the Orgone Institute were incorporated under the membership law of the State of New York as a non-profit research organization under the name of ORGONE INSTITUTE RESEARCH LABORATORIES, INC. The main office is at 99-06 Stafford Avenue, Forest Hills, N. Y.

New laboratory. During the summer of 1945, a new research laboratory was built at Orgonon, near Rangeley, Maine (*see* photographs on opposite page). It provides favorable facilities for about 20 research workers in comfortable surroundings. The building is about 60 by 70 feet and has the following lay-out:



The cost of the building was approximately \$12,000, including the major equipment, exclusive of microscopes. It is well insulated and thus usable the year round. The floor of the main experimental hall is of concrete, thus assuring vibration-free experimentation with delicate instruments.

The location is at an altitude of about 1600 feet. The atmospheric conditions at Orgonon are especially suitable for orgone research. The air is dry, and the orgone

effects are much more clearly observable than in New York.

The money for the building came exclusively from private funds, through loans and contributions to the Orgone Research Fund made by Ada Radcliffe, Wilhelm Reich, Elizabeth Tyson, and Theodore P. Wolfe. Extensive research work is expected to start at Orgonon about the middle of May, 1946.



The Laboratory at Orgono, Maine, nearing completion
Autumn, 1945

FROM THE ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS

New address. In the spring of 1945, the Orgone Institute Press established an Order and Shipping Department, located at 157 Christopher Street, New York 14, N. Y. Please send orders to this address.

New publication. Publication of a third, revised and enlarged edition of Reich's THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM is scheduled for Spring 1946.

REVIEWS

BURNHAM, JAMES: *The Machiavellians*. Putnam, 1943.

By way of an extensive discussion of the works of what he terms "Machiavellian" writers, like Machiavelli, Mosca, Michels, Sorel and Pareto, the author of *THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION* presents the sociological basis of "managerialism," thus bringing the Machiavellian school up to date, as it were, and applying it to present-day events. He makes a good job of selecting and summarizing the concepts of these writers. Burnham makes no secret of his intention: he supports his own views by pointing to predecessors of no mean calibre whose theories, by now, have become either forgotten or distorted. One can say that he succeeds in this "rehabilitation."

Machiavellism makes the claim of being *the* science of the social process, a process which is one single rationalization of human irrationalism, a process of unceasing struggle for might and privileges, punctuated by cyclically recurring revolutions.

One might say that the Machiavellians see more than they are able to explain. One is struck by their description of the irrational behavior of the masses ("non-logic conduct," Pareto), of "the political formula" (Mosca), "the ideology" (in the sense of Robert Michels). All the more disappointing is the interpretation of this fundamental mass phenomenon. The unscientific theory is supplemented by a highly opportunistic policy: the Machiavellians (except for the founder of the school) developed their main activity shortly before the first world war, in the form of ruthless criticism of bourgeois democracy as well as of Marxism. According to them, the fruits of any revolution are always gathered by the "elite" of that particular

period. They fail to prove that this is a historical fact or necessity. And what is one to think of the unflattering characterization of the elite if one knows that Mosca and Michels belonged among the friends of Mussolini? It is to be regretted that Burnham fails to discuss either this fact or the literary influence of Pareto and Sorel on Italian fascism. Burnham merely wishes to describe the basis of managerialism, without making himself or the Machiavellians its champions, but one cannot help feeling that Burnham follows the argumentation of fascist theorists. Nevertheless, one should by no means consider the Machiavellians as fascist party ideologists. For that, one might say, their theories are not sufficiently "unequivocal," as further discussion will show.

An important criterion of Machiavellism is its treatment of the problem of democracy. Democracy, defined for more than a century as "self-government," "government by the people," etc., appears, from the Machiavellian point of view, as illusion, myth or political formula. We shall follow here the argumentation of Robert Michels.

In the last analysis, democracy is made impossible by problems of organization. The principle of division of labor and of specialization leads of necessity to the leadership of a small elite of specialists in whose hands rest all important decisions. It is not sufficient to point out that, after all, the leaders represent the people, for, as Michels puts it, "a mass which delegates its sovereignty, that is to say transfers its sovereignty to the hands of a few individuals, abdicates its sovereign functions. For the will of the people is not transferable, nor even the will of the single individual." This argument, which was also used by J. J. Rousseau, is considered

as somewhat "too abstract" by Burnham who thinks that such subtleties are unnecessary. To him, it is sufficient that "the leaders . . . as a group . . . are *indispensable* to every important organization. Their genuine indispensability is the strongest lever whereby the position of the leadership is consolidated, whereby the leaders control and are not controlled by the mass whereby, therefore, democracy succumbs." To put it more simply: Those who have the power utilize it for themselves.

At first sight, there seem to exist certain similarities between the formulations of Michels and the work-democratic concepts of Wilhelm Reich. The decisive point, however, is this: The Machiavellians consider the masses' inability to perceive their own life interests as unalterable. Reich, on the other hand, says clearly: "The question which, peculiarly enough, neither socialist nor any other 'freedom parties' ask themselves, is the following: *Are the millions of working individuals willing and able to take their responsibility for the social process?*" (In: "Living Productive Power, Working Power").

In our critique of "Machiavellian psychology" as propounded by Pareto, we shall see that far-reaching but erroneous conclusions are drawn with entirely inadequate means. Here, only a word about the erroneous sociological conclusion of the Machiavellians: Division of labor, of course, goes with the accumulation of wealth and exploitation, with the formation of a leisure class (Veblen) and of a proletariat. It has also been said again and again that exploitation, due to low productivity, first absolute and then relative, was a "historical necessity." What becomes now "historically necessary" is the abolition of exploitation. The Machiavellians, like many others, are wrong in considering this "demagoguery." They further contend that if capitalist exploitation were abolished, it would be replaced by a socialist or some other exploitation. All this

is "proved" by the "fight for privileges." Here we already encounter an erroneous psychology. For if we point out to the Machiavellian that the productive forces may reach a maximum, a point of complete satisfaction of needs—to which he agrees—he will tell us, in scientific terminology, the old tale of the fisherman and his dissatisfied wife. And with this, current psychology agrees. It is not sufficient to "see man as he is," it is also necessary to see how he could change.

The fact is undeniable that the Machiavellians have thoroughly unmasked the fraud which has been and is being perpetrated with democracy. But they failed to realize that what they criticized was not democracy at all. Starting from erroneous sociological and psychological premises, they become mournful mystics or cynically take the side of the "oligarchs." The former case is tragically illustrated by Robert Michels as follows:

The defects inherent in democracy are obvious. It is none the less true that as a form of social life we must choose democracy as the least of evils. . . . Democracy is a treasure which no one will ever discover by deliberate search. But in continuing our search, in laboring indefatigably to discover the undiscoverable, we shall perform a work which will have fertile results in the democratic sense.

The only possibility of historical development lies in the "circulation of the elites." Pareto applied a great deal of ingenuity to the demonstration of the inevitable course of this circulation. This is how Michels presents Pareto's ideas:

The democratic currents of history resemble successive waves. They break over on the same shoal. They are ever renewed. This enduring spectacle is simultaneously encouraging and depressing. When democracies have gained a certain stage of

development, they undergo a gradual transformation, adopting the aristocratic spirit, and in many cases also the aristocratic forms, against which at the outset they struggled so fiercely. Now new accusers arise to denounce the traitors after an era of glorious combat and of inglorious power, they end by fusing with the old dominant class, whereupon once more they are in their turn attacked by fresh opponents who appeal to the name of democracy. It is probable that this cruel game will continue without end.

One must admit that here the opinion of the "unpolitical individual" is expressed in unmistakable terms. Let us discuss here the seeming agreement between the work-democratic and the Machiavellian concept of the role of the politicians. We must accept Reich's repeated statements to the effect that "political parties will not be capable of bringing about a *factual* and rational new regulation of social conditions." "Political systems," says Reich, "develop and disappear without leaving any fundamental change in social living." "Work democracy is a newly discovered biosociological basic function of society, and not a political program."

Reich makes clear a very important point: It is *not* the politicians to whom society owes its functioning, even if this appears to be the case. He goes as far as comparing political systems to a malignant growth in the body social which sooner or later must lead to social chaos. Even in its most irrational forms, human society still functions as a result of natural life functions. If these functions are not scientifically understood and aided, they must lead to serious social and individual disturbances. In Machiavellism or managerialism the work-democratic concept is so diluted as to become meaningless. Burnham, in looking for the motor power of the social process, finds it in "freedom," which, primarily, means "the existence of a public opposition to the governing elite."

This principle of freedom or opposition is thought of in the following way:

The existence of an opposition means a cleavage in the ruling class. Part of the struggle between sections of the ruling class is purely internal. Manoeuvres, intrigues, even assassinations take place in the course of the continual jockeying for position. When, however, the opposition is public, this means that the conflicts cannot be solved merely by internal changes in the existing elite. The opposition is forced to undertake external moves, beyond the limits of the ruling class. Since rule depends upon the ability to control the existing social forces, the opposition seeks to draw forces to its side, and to win over new leaders who are coming up from the ranks of society. In this attempt it must promise certain benefits to various groups; if successful, it must keep at least a few of the promises. At the same time, the struggle stimulates new demands by many groups, even by the non-elite. Finally, the opposition must seek to destroy the prestige of the governing elite by exposing the inequities of its rule, which it knows much better than do the masses. Confronted with this multiple attack, the governing elite, in order to try to keep control, is in turn compelled to grant certain concessions and to correct at least some of the more glaring abuses. The net indirect result of the struggle, which from one point of view is only a fight among two sets of leaders, can thus be benefits for large sections of the masses. The masses, blocked by the iron law of oligarchy from directly and deliberately ruling themselves, are able to limit and control, indirectly, the power of their rulers. The myth of self-government is translated into a measure of reality by the fact of freedom.

Again, this description gives a correct picture of the usual political machinations, but one cannot see how human society can exist under such conditions, let alone achieve an even partial realization of self-government. One recalls here the pre-Marxist explanation of the origin of profit:

the capitalists all take advantage of each other. Marx's answer to this was simple: "The absurdity of this notion becomes evident if it is generalized. What a man would constantly win as a seller he would as constantly lose as a purchaser. . . . If a man first takes your money and afterwards returns that money in buying your commodities, you will never enrich yourselves by selling your commodities too dear to that same man."

One cannot make things as easy for oneself as do Burnham and his followers. A sociology with such vague concepts of the role of human working power ("control of the existing forces," "external moves," "winning over new leaders," "promising certain benefits," etc.) cannot be taken seriously. Its critique may resemble ours in words, but in content it is nothing but empty scolding. Burnham fails in his attempt to give his principle of freedom a concrete basis. He takes over from socialist criticism the statement that freedom is impossible in capitalism. On the other hand, the concentration of all social and economic forces in the state would preclude any possibility of freedom. His proposed solution is a division of the economic forces along "functional or syndicalist lines." Again the spectre of power appears, which he would ban through various groups with relative independence. He does not know that power is merely an economic factor which, with full gratification of human needs, loses the character of might. A splitting up of the economic forces, if it were possible, would lead us back to early capitalism. Burnham, who holds the Machiavellians in high esteem for their clear distinction between "formal meaning" and "real meaning," himself gets constantly lost in speculative constructions. Though it is correct that beliefs, myths, and ideals influence the masses and keep them from the realization of social goals, it is incorrect to say that there is no reason to believe that this could ever change. One

cannot help feeling that the Machiavellians do not wish to make any binding statements or are unable to do so. Objective research is one thing, the fear of saying too much another thing. This superior and at the same time cautious attitude is well expressed in Burnham's remarks on the role of psychology:

If we had at our disposal a completely developed and general science of psychology, presumably it would include politics and sociology, economics and history besides. But we have nothing even promising such a psychology. . . . These minor details which psychology is now able to tell us about, reaction-times, conditioned reflexes and infant peculiarities, teach us nothing at all about how forms of government change or a ruling class is wiped out.

At the same time, the Machiavellian school is highly psychologistic, as exemplified in the following illustration from Pareto's work. Pareto undoubtedly enters the realm of psychology when he considers the historical modes of human behavior as "logical" and "non-logical conduct." Formally, this distinction seems to be synonymous with what sex-economy terms rational and irrational behavior, but actually there is a fundamental difference. Significantly, Pareto has little to say about "logical conduct." It would seem to be everyday commonsense. "An investor, wanting to maintain his funds in the most profitable manner, withdraws capital from a field of enterprise that is drying up in favor of a new and expanding industry." However: "For the most part it is a delusion to believe that in social life men take deliberate steps to achieve consciously held goals." Burnham goes as far as stating: "*What happens to society, whether it progresses or decays, is free or despotic, happy or miserable, poor or prosperous, is only to the slightest degree influenced by the deliberate, rational purposes held by human beings*" (italic's the reviewer's).

This kind of "irrationalism" is based on the erroneous equation of instinctive behavior and non-logical conduct. It is a hangover from the period when philosophy stormed against Freud's theory of the unconscious. The theory of the instincts does not deal with such "judgments" as logical or non-logical. To equate psychic and irrational is not scientific. When Reich speaks of irrational behavior he means something concrete, the living structure as it has been formed in certain ways. In that case, understanding and practical mastery become one.

In spite of its irreparable theoretical shortcomings, Machiavellism has a certain significance even for our times. Not as a science of the elite's striving for power or of the failure of the great mass movements, but because of the ingenuousness of its criticism:

Many modern politicians habitually tell the people that their fate is in their own hands, they rule themselves, they make the final and fundamental decisions, they are the court of last appeal. Remarks of this kind are all derivations expressing some variant of the democratic formulas. Their real purpose is to enable the politicians, while ruling in their own interests, to protect their regime by the moral sanction of the myth of the popular will (Burnham).

With this formulation one must fully agree.

HARRY OBERMAYER

ZVI SOHAR and SHMUEL GOLLAN: *Die sexuelle Erziehung*. Sifriat Poalim, Palestine, 1943.

This is the first book in the Hebrew language which summarizes and interprets most of the current sexological theories insofar as they influence practical pedagogics. The authors base their book mainly on Max Hodann and on their experiences as psychoanalytically oriented teachers in the Jewish workers' movement in Palestine. The publication of such a book, in the

"far distant" Orient, seems worthy of note. It is of particular interest to us because the authors give a rather extensive discussion of Reich's *DIE SEXUALITÄT IM KULTURKAMPF* [In English: *THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION*.—Ed.]. The authors point out that Reich's sexological writings are widely known and eagerly read among youth. They believe that, next to Hodann, it is Reich *who has formed the thinking of youth in our time to a far-reaching degree*.

As gratifying as this recognition is, requiring, as it does, a great deal of courage, the often inexact presentation of Reich's writings is deplorable. It makes it easy for the authors subsequently to "refute" them. Since it is necessary again and again to protest against arbitrary interpretations of sex-economic concepts we will show in the following example how "easily" this scientific unfairness is practised.

"Freedom of sexual life as advocated by Reich," the authors write, "is no solution at all, for it does not depend on the free will of the adolescents. Quite apart from the socio-economic hindrances, this freedom depends on the ontogenetic fate, the developmental history of the sexual drive up to puberty. In many cases, sexual freedom is the downfall of adolescents, driving them into intolerable situations; thus, no less than its opposite, it becomes the basis of complexes and neurotic development. If we are to affirm freedom of sexual life for adolescents, a thorough reform of early sex education is necessary. As long as this is not achieved, the sudden change during puberty, as advocated by Reich, is dangerous and irresponsible. This applies, of course, equally to its propagation."

Reich, on the other hand, devoted a considerable part of the book in question to a discussion of the difficulties presented by the old structure and the problem of altering it. The "sudden change during puberty as advocated by Reich" is a pure fabrication of the authors.

HARRY OBERMAYER

MARGARET SANGER. *An Autobiography*. New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 1938.

The life of Margaret Sanger is the account of the struggle to make sound contraceptive information available to women in the United States. Margaret Sanger, a nurse in the New York slums, initiated the fight and for a long time and in many of its aspects carried it forward almost single-handed. The lack of compromise and the integrity with which she worked, the timidity and irrationality which opposed her on every hand, the recency of this movement, are all illuminating to the present generation who take contraception for granted and are of significance to all who work for sexual reform.

Margaret Sanger was herself one of eleven children of a tubercular mother. She says she was little more than eight when she first helped wash the new-born baby after one of her mother's deliveries. As a young student nurse, later, she was often midwife. Here, mothers first put to her the question which was to haunt her always: "What can I do not to have another baby right away?" Mrs. Sanger gives, as typical of the doctors' attitude toward this question when relayed to them, the statement, "She ought to be ashamed of herself to talk to a young girl about things like that." Later as an active socialist in New York, a wife and the mother of three children, Mrs. Sanger was often called on to speak on health to women's socialist groups. Sexual questions were always asked in the discussion. As a result of these questions she wrote a column for the *Socialist Call*, "What Every Mother Should Know." Of this she says: "I attempted . . . to introduce the impersonality of nature in order to break through the rigid consciousness of sex on the part of parents who were inclined to be too intensely personal about it." A second series of articles, "What Every Girl Should Know," brought her into her first encounter with the Comstock

law. The column was prohibited because of the mention of venereal disease.

In 1912 an incident occurred which turned all Mrs. Sanger's energies into the effort to make contraceptive information available to women. As a nurse she was called to attend a woman in a crowded slum. There were three small children and the woman died of a self-induced abortion. The woman had previously asked for contraceptive information but Mrs. Sanger did not have the information to give her. The doctor had advised abstinence.

The health and economic aspects of contraception were equally important to Mrs. Sanger as she now set out to get and make available the information she had lacked. Three principles were the foundation for her work: Adequate knowledge was to be made available by qualified people. Only safe and tested products were to be recommended. There was to be no compromise with the opposition.

During the following year, in France with her artist husband, Mrs. Sanger gathered formulas for suppositories from the wives of French syndicalists, who had them handed down from their mothers and grandmothers. She also compiled statistics on the relation between poverty and size of family in the United States and in Great Britain for her campaign to try to win public support. At the end of 1913, impatient that she was not achieving more, Mrs. Sanger returned to the United States to begin her work on the dining room table of her small apartment. The beginning was an eight-page paper called "The Woman Rebel." Appeal had been made to the feminist leaders to support the paper, but there was no response from this quarter. It was Socialists and Anarchists who subscribed, who came to volunteer their time typing, addressing envelopes, looking up material, writing articles.

The first issue of "The Woman Rebel" appeared in March 1914, and was immediately met with a notice from the post-

master that it was unmailable. The first issue had given no contraceptive information, but had merely announced the intention of doing so. The newspapers picked up the incident and ran headlines, "Woman Rebel Barred From Mails" but none saw infringement of free press in the action. After a study of Section 211 of the Federal Statutes, which barred from the mails in one category pornographic literature, contraceptive information and information causing abortion, Mrs. Sanger decided she had not violated the law and continued to publish the paper. In order to avoid confiscation, she and her helpers took each issue, dispersed over the city and mailed only two or three copies in a single mail box, so that no great number of them would appear at any single branch post office and thereby attract attention. Nevertheless the May and July issues were also banned. Margaret Sanger foresaw that there would be a stiff legal fight before she had finished her work for which she was not at this time prepared. She decided to be careful not to violate the law in this publication. Discussion of contraception was not forbidden by law, only the giving of contraceptive information. This she refrained from doing at this time.

Since, however, giving information was her primary purpose, she set out to write a pamphlet, in simple language for people of limited vocabulary, including what she had learned in France, with formulas and drawings. Twenty printers refused to print the pamphlet. A liberal lawyer whom she approached as the trustee of a maternal health fund merely advised her to be psychoanalyzed. Nevertheless she wrote her pamphlet, "Family Limitation." Funds were raised to print a hundred thousand copies, and a linotype operator on a foreign language paper printed it for her at night. It was to be distributed to all who had written in to the editor of "The Woman Rebel" with their urgent requests for specific information, as well as to trade union

leaders who wished to distribute copies. Envelopes were addressed, but mailing was held up until it would be possible to send them all out at the same time. But before this could happen Mrs. Sanger was indicted.

Unwilling to have the legal fight pivot around "The Woman Rebel" which did not really come to grips with the issue, and could not—even if she were cleared—win a ruling on the right to send information through the mail, Mrs. Sanger put her children in boarding school and went abroad, notifying the judge that she would return for trial when she had prepared her case and was ready to stand trial. In her letter she enclosed a copy of "Family Limitation."

Mrs. Sanger stayed in Europe more than a year, working in the British Museum on the history of contraception, discussing plans with British leaders who were in sympathy and who had been able to go farther with their work than was possible in the United States, visiting birth control clinics in Holland, marshalling more economic arguments to support her case. Her husband, meanwhile, who had still been in France during the writing and printing of "Family Limitation," had returned to New York. There one day he was called upon by two men, one of whom told a pathetic tale about his overburdened wife and requested a copy of the pamphlet. Sanger gave it to him. It was the only copy he had ever given out. The men turned out to be a Federal Agent and an agent of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Sanger was arrested and sentenced to thirty days in jail. This brought Mrs. Sanger home. But by now public opinion was roused in her defense. Prominent British friends had written to President Wilson in her behalf. Mrs. Sanger was eager to have the case tried, in view of the facts she would include in her defense. The press commented, "The Sanger case presents the anomaly of a prosecutor loath to prosecute

and a defendant anxious to be tried." The indictment was quashed.

The second phase of the legal struggle began in the fall of 1916 when Margaret Sanger decided to try to get a favorable judicial interpretation on the New York State law. Two statutes were involved, one which said no one could give contraceptive information to anyone for any reason, and another which stated that physicians could give prescriptions to prevent conception for the cure or prevention of disease. Lawyers whom she consulted assured Mrs. Sanger that this second part was interpreted to refer only to venereal disease. Mrs. Sanger decided to make a test case to see if a ruling could not be had to include the protection of women from ill health as a result of excessive child bearing. The situation was such at this time that a woman physician had been dropped from the staff of a New York hospital for giving contraceptive information to patients whom she thought were in need of it.

Mrs. Sanger and her sister, who was also a nurse, decided to open a birth control clinic. No doctor was willing to work with them. This was a disappointment, since there would be clear violation of the law if a nurse gave information. However, they decided to go ahead and to include poverty as well as health as a reason for giving information, for if the law was to be violated it might as well include the whole issue.

They chose a crowded section of Brooklyn, and put notices in the mail boxes throughout the neighborhood announcing their opening, and arranged with a near-by druggist to supply the pessaries which they were recommending. From the opening day the clinic was crowded with long lines waiting on the street. On the ninth day a woman in plain clothes, whom they nevertheless recognized as a policewoman, joined the line and obtained information. The next day the clinic was raided by the vice

squad. The patrol wagon carried off the people waiting in the clinic as well as Mrs. Sanger and the case records of the four hundred and sixty-four women who had thus far attended the clinic. Mrs. Sanger, her sister and their secretarial assistant were all charged. Mrs. Sanger's sister was tried first. A physician's evidence in her behalf was ruled out as "incompetent and irrelevant." The defense was allowed only fifteen minutes to present its argument on the unconstitutionality of the law. The defendant was found guilty and sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse. She announced that she would go on a hunger strike, which she did, thereby bringing nationwide publicity to the case. She was released by Governor's pardon when she was too weak to refuse it. As a result, Mrs. Sanger, who had expected a much heavier sentence since she was the real instigator, also received thirty days.

This case rallied the support of many people, among them prominent and wealthy women who now undertook to back the "birth control movement," and ushered in a third phase of the work. This period is highlighted by several events: A wider publication program, another visit to Europe in the attempt to get formulae for cheaper contraceptives, the founding by one member of the organization of the Holland Rantos Company, the first to manufacture contraceptives for women in the United States, the founding of a second clinic with women doctors cooperating, and the first International Congress on Birth Control. These were not without continued difficulties.

The events that are important to cite reveal primarily the effects of political pressure groups, and the incompetence of officials in authority. For example, the "Birth Control Review" was barred from the mails on the judgment of a sixteen-year-old clerk. A meeting of the International Congress at Town Hall was closed by the precinct police captain on his own

initiative at the suggestion of one of the Catholic hierarchy, and despite all protest the Captain went without reprimand for his unauthorized action. Here, however, the press supported Mrs. Sanger. In fact, popular support increased sufficiently so that when the second clinic was raided, twelve years after the closing of the first clinic, and the records confiscated, the medical profession and the legal profession came to the aid of the clinic and won an apology from the police commissioner. The times had changed. A higher state court had given an interpretation permitting the giving of contraceptive information by physicians to women who might be physically endangered by child bearing. The clinic was operated strictly within this interpretation. Mrs. Sanger employed a private detective service to trace the origin of the raid. The trail led again to the Catholic hierarchy which had been embarrassed by the questions of Catholic social workers. A last but not less important aspect of the difficulties was the irrationality of co-workers. Some withdrew because of political differences. Some gave up when personal ambitions could not be satisfied through this channel. The Birth Control League itself finally became so involved in the mechanics of organization that Margaret Sanger withdrew.

A sad and final chapter to the story is the six-year struggle Mrs. Sanger carried on and the hundred and fifty thousand dollars she spent trying to get Congressional action to change the Federal statute which grouped contraceptive information with pornographic literature and barred it from the mails. This effort failed. However, in 1936 a Federal District Judge gave a ruling which permitted doctors to send contraceptive supplies through the mails, and to order them, within the country or abroad. In 1937 the American Medical Association Committee on Contraception recommended that techniques of contraception be taught in medical schools. This

achievement is only nine years old. It occurred, however, twenty years after it had been impossible to find a physician who would risk working with two nurses in the first birth control clinic of New York City.

There is much more in Mrs. Sanger's account which could not be included in this review. The details of the trials and the raids show irrationalism in its purest form. The visits abroad give interesting foreshadowing glimpses of things to come, such as the German physician in the 1920's who felt it would be fatal to the state to have contraception in the hands of the women, but was in favor of legalized abortion which could be state-regulated; or the decline of the contraceptive clinics in Russia in the 1930's; the discouraging picture of population in Japan, China and India which diverted Mrs. Sanger's own arguments toward the larger questions of population control, and permitted the 1927 Birth Control Congress in Geneva to be usurped by those concerned with population policy.

Yet, though the achievements have been partial, and the original goals have become to a large measure diverted, what has been achieved is the result of one woman's pioneering, in the face of every type of obstacle including her own ill health. Her book is almost a handbook in astute and uncompromising procedure toward a goal. It is also a warning of the irrationality with which one must deal, not only in opponents but in those who merely sit on the sidelines and wait, and even more bitterly in those who wish to help but are caught in the compromising bonds of personal ambitions or personal fears.

GLADYS MEYER

ARNOLD GESELL, M.D. and FRANCES ILG, M.D., in collaboration with JANET LEARNED and LOUISE B. AMES: *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today: The Guidance of*

Development. New York, Harper, 1943.

The continued appearance of books from the Yale Clinic for Child Development, and their increasingly wide influence on nursery education in the home and in the school, makes it important to examine the concepts and recommendations they contain. *INFANT AND CHILD IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY*, though not the most recent publication, is the one specifically addressed to the general audience of parents and teachers and therefore lends itself best to discussion.

Gesell and his associates have made wide observations of children, particularly of rates of growth and rates of learning. They recognize and stress the individual differences of development in children, and on this basis emphasize the necessity for the child to set his own pace, to determine his own rhythm, up to a point. By implication the Yale Group sees culture as a changing entity. Its central concept is one of mutual accommodation between the needs of the child and the demands of the culture.

In contrast to the rigid authoritarian type of child training, the recommendations of Gesell seem a long step forward. For example, the chapters on feeding, sleep, bowel and bladder control, emphasize the necessity of interpreting a child's behavior in terms of the process of natural growth toward maturity, rather than in terms of "training" and habit formation. The tone of the text is reassuring, attempting to relieve anxieties and pressures of parents and teachers which might be directed to any of these processes. Adult tolerance, and unemotional meeting of progress or regression or change of rhythm on the part of the child are the goals. Similarly, infantile sex interests are to be viewed with "tolerance."

There can be no doubt that parents and teachers who follow Gesell will interfere with their children much less than those who must "train" children like puppies

and force them as early as possible to be miniature adults. This is a social gain. But the point of view is still far from the positive affirmation of the rights and needs and natural, true feelings of childhood, or from the cultural criticism inherent in such affirmation.

There seem to me to be two major reasons why the point of view of the Yale Clinic, despite its excellence in comparison with older ones, has critical limitations.

First, these doctors and psychologists have only old scientific concepts within which to operate. They see physiological, mental, and emotional growth as essentially separate in character. Although they protest that the child must grow as a unit, that he must simultaneously combine adjustments in all three spheres, the functioning separateness is assumed with a corresponding limited understanding of each. The old dichotomy between physiological and mental persists despite attempts to sidestep it, and there is helplessness before the sphere of emotions which are sometimes subsumed under the mental as in "mental health" and sometimes under physiological comfort.

The phrases "mental life," "mental development," "the growing mind" are the most common terms in which Gesell and his associates describe the functioning child. For example, there is the statement, "The mental life embraces three levels of reality: 1) *the vegetative functions* of respiration, alimentation, elimination; 2) *the world of things*, in time and space; 3) *the world of persons* in home and community" (p. 20). They seem to be operating within the old psychology of perception in which the mind as unit perceives things outside itself. This leads to such amazing statements as, "This sensitivity to cultural impress is so great that he [the baby] acquires a sense of other selves before he acquires a clear sense of his own self . . . He is aware of the incoming and outgoing hand of his mother before he

becomes acquainted with his own hand as it travels in and out of his field of vision" (p. 32). Surely the pulsating organism of the new baby does not depend on the field of vision for its awareness of self or of others. But within the limits of perception psychology there is no other way to interpret awareness. Even a correct sense of the new baby's functioning unity with the natural and cosmic universe cannot be developed and dealt with because of this rigid category "mental." So we see the meaningless statement, "In the beginning he [the baby] is all universality, or all ego, as you choose" (p. 31).

With this confusion at the base of its interpretation of living functioning, it is not surprising that Gesell and his co-workers cannot move forward to the idea of really trusting the child and of criticizing the neurotic cultural demands put upon him. Although the book uses the term "self regulation" throughout, in the precept that the child must "achieve a measure of self regulation" it is never clear whether self-regulation is a kind of "mental independence" which the parents help the child climb to as a goal; or whether the home must so modify the demands of the culture as to permit "a measure" (what measure?) of self-regulation. Probably both are meant, but it is very unclear.

If the natural-scientific frame is limited, so also is the social scientific frame unclear and often by implication dependent on nineteenth-century points of view. Gesell seems to see culture and the institutions within it as entities in themselves, almost like living bodies imposing their will on others and going through a process of autonomous change and development. "The home, like the state," he writes, "has its problems of government and must give controlled scope to the spirit of liberty which animates the child." Such loose statements equivocate and leave open to the individual parent a primary emphasis on control or scope in the name of the

institution, home or state. Similarly in the central theme "the relationships between a child and his culture are highly reciprocal," the culture is seen almost as a mystic, dynamic agent, outside the character structure of the individuals who make the culture. This lack of precision in thought colors the book with naive optimism and permits statements that are mystical nonsense. "A baby is not only a specific embodiment of a future adult; he is a generic embodiment of the venerable past of the human race. He represents a vast cloud of ancestral witnesses compacted into a single individuality. He is the inheritor of the ages." Whether it intends to or not this kind of talk feeds the reactionary upholding of a past that must be sloughed off if we are to have healthy children, healthy adults and a rational world. The flight into such language, into the eulogies of Democracy and of American life, may reassure anxious parents, but they reassure them in their neurotic clinging to the past and need for approval in the present, and they bespeak a scientific superficiality or timidity unworthy of the fine descriptive content of much of the book.

A theory of child care which operates within these limitations in scientific concepts will naturally break down when it runs head on to the real clash between present-day culture and the natural functioning of the child. Thus we are told that at 40 weeks the infant discovers his genital, but that this is generally a transitory event in his physical self-discovery. He then apparently has no sexual feelings or interests until two and a half where his "comprehension" of his own urinary functions leads to "curiosity" about differences between the sexes. We next hear of him at age three and a half asking questions about marriage. At age four "under stress" he sometimes grasps his genitals.

This is all so far from what we know to be true of the healthy child that we can believe that the observers in the Yale

Clinic have been blinded by their concentration on "mental development," by their own fears and conventionalities, or have only been able to observe children in an environment such as clinic or school, where prior to observation they had already undergone the usual cultural suppression by their parents.

This book, or rather the influence of this clinic, is hard to evaluate. Children allowed to grow in a modicum of freedom may be better able to wage their own battle for their natural needs. The mother following Gesell may have no help in understanding her positive contact with the child if she has it, and no support in real affirmation, but if she has no natural contact under the influence of Gesell she may harry him less. I believe I would give the book to some parents, those perhaps who can only accept this much. It might also be a beginning for parents and teachers just becoming acquainted with children who might grow even further in time. But for students and teachers in the children's field it should undergo critical examination. As it stands, *INFANT AND CHILD IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY* will make them all too comfortable with suppressive aspects of vital areas of child life.

There is an ironic sentence in this product from one of the oldest and most elaborately equipped and staffed clinics in America: "Should science ever arrive at the happy juncture where it can focus its full force upon the interpretation of life, it will force us to do more complete and timely justice to the individual personality and the very young. And this in its turn will have far reaching effects upon the adult population" (p. 11).

It is in this concentration upon the interpretation of life, the fundamental life function of pulsation, the nature of the basic life energy, orgone, in human beings and in the cosmic universe that Reich has provided the base on which a theory of child development can be made without confusion, evasion or mystical retreat. That this leads to the development of different human structure and deep-reaching changes in the ways of behaving which make up culture is inevitable; just as it is inevitable that the translation of theory into practice will only come if there are those who can bear to be uncomfortable with the culture of today and are willing to struggle for the recognition of the young child's right to function freely.

GLADYS MEYER

A. S. NEILL'S "THAT DREADFUL SCHOOL"

Editor's note: *This continues the excerpts published in vol. 4, 1945, 115-128.*

THE PRIVATE LESSON (*Continued*)

There sometimes arises a jealousy about P.Ls. . . . "Why should Mary get P.Ls. and not me?" There have been cases in which girls have deliberately and consciously behaved as problems merely to be included in the P.L. list. One of them smashed some windows and when asked what her idea was, replied: "I want Neill to give me P.Ls." It is usually a girl who behaves in this way, a girl whose father has not, in her estimation, paid sufficient attention to her. Naturally I am the father symbol for all the children, and my wife is the mother symbol. Socially my wife fares more badly than I do, for she gets all the unconscious hate of mother displaced on to her by the girls, while I get their love. The boys give their mother love to my wife and their father hate to me, but boys do not express hate so easily as girls. That is due to their being able to deal so much with things instead of with people. A boy kicks a ball while a girl spits catty words at a mother symbol. But to be fair I must say that it is only during a certain period that girls are catty and difficult to live with—the pre-adolescent and the first year of adolescence period, and not all girls go through the stage; much depends on the previous school and more still on the mother's attitude to authority.

In the P.Ls. I point out relationships between reactions to home and school. Any criticism of me I translate as one of father; any accusation against my wife I show to be one against mother. I try to keep analysis objective, that is I do not enter into subjective depths in the Jung

and Silberer manner. That would be unfair to children. There are occasions, naturally, when a subjective explanation is necessary, as in the case of Jane recently. Jane, aged thirteen, went round the school telling various children that Neill wanted them. I had a stream of callers . . . "Jane says you want me." I told Jane later that sending others to me meant that she wanted to come herself.

What is the technique of a P.L.? How do I begin with a new pupil? I have no set method. Sometimes I begin with a question: "When you look in the glass do you like your face?" The answer is always no. "What part of your face do you hate most?" The invariable answer is: "My nose." Adults give the same reply. The face is the person so far as the outside world is concerned. We think of faces when we think of people, and we look at faces when we talk to people. So that the face becomes the outside picture of the inner self. When a child says he dislikes his face he means his personality, so that my next step is to leave the face.

"What do you hate most in yourself?" I ask, and usually the answer is a corporal one . . . "My feet are too big." "Too fat." "Too little." "My hair." I never give an opinion, never agree that he or she is fat or lean, nor do I force things. If the body is of interest we talk about it until there is nothing more to be said. Then we go on to the personality.

With young children the technique is eclectic. I follow the child's lead. A typical first P.L. with a six-year-old girl is that of Margaret. She comes into my room and says: "I want a P.L."

"Righto," I say. She sits down in an easy chair.

"What *is* a P.L.?" she asks.

"It isn't anything to eat," I say, "but somewhere in this pocket I have a caramel . . . ah, got it," and I give her the sweet.

"Why do you want a P.L.?" I ask.

"Evelyn had one and I want one too."

"Good. You begin it. What do you want to talk about?"

"I've got a dolly. (Pause.) Where did you get that thing on the mantelpiece? (She obviously does not want to wait for an answer.) Who was in this house before you came?"

Her questions point to a desire to know some vital truth, and I have a good suspicion that it is the truth about birth.

"Where do babies come from?" I ask suddenly.

Margaret gets up and marches to the door. "I hate P.Ls.," she says, and departs, but a few days later she asks for another P.L., and so we progress.

Little Tommy, aged six, also did not mind P.Ls. so long as I refrained from mentioning "rude" things, and for the first three sessions he went out indignantly, for I knew that only rude things interested him. He was one of the victims of the masturbation Verbot.

It will be seen that the P.Ls. are really a re-education. Their object is to lop off all complexes given by morality and fear. Many children never have them and do not want them—the children who have been properly brought up without parental lies and lectures. I say that a free school could be run without them, for they merely speed up the re-education by a scavenging spring cleaning before the summer of freedom.

I find that analysis does not work at once. The analyzed person does not benefit completely for some time, usually about a year. Hence I never feel pessimistic about older pupils who leave school in

what we might describe a half-baked psychological condition. There was Tom, sent to us because he had been a failure at his Public School. I gave him a year's intensive analysis, and there was no apparent result. When he left Summerhill he looked like being a failure all through life. But a year later his parents wrote that he had suddenly decided to be a doctor and was studying hard at the university. Bill seemed a more hopeless case. His analysis took three years. He left school apparently an aimless youth of eighteen. He drifted about from job to job for over a year, and then he decided to be a farmer. All reports say that he is doing well and is keen on his work.

The same sort of experience happens to adults who have been analyzed. It seems that after analysis has swept away the accumulation of dead litter that has warped life, there is a fallow period, a period of emptiness: the outworn emotions have been got rid of but nothing has taken their place. It is not the analyst's job to attempt to fill that void; the patient must do that for himself. And my experience is that he does it every time.

A DAY IN SUMMERHILL

Breakfast is from 8.15 to 9, and the staff and pupils fetch their breakfast from the kitchen hatch which is opposite the dining room. Beds are supposed to be made by 9.30 when lessons begin. At the beginning of each term a time-table is posted up. Children are divided into classes according to their age and interest; the classes being called by Greek letters. Thus Corkhill in the laboratory may have on Monday the Betas, on Tuesday the Gammas and so on. Max has a similar time-table for English, Cyril for Mathematics, Roger for Geography, my wife for History. There is, of course, no compulsion to attend lessons, but if Jimmy comes to English on Monday and does not make an appearance again until the Friday of the following

week, the others quite rightly object that he is keeping the work back, and they may throw him out.

Lessons go on until one, but the infants and juniors lunch at 12.30. The school has to be fed in three relays, and the staff and seniors sit down to lunch at 1.45. Afternoons are completely free for everyone. What they all do in the afternoon I do not know. I garden, and seldom see youngsters about. I see the juniors playing gangsters, but some of the seniors busy themselves with motors and radio and drawing and painting. In good weather they play games. Some tinker about in the workshop, mending their cycles or making boats or revolvers.

Tea is at four, and at five various activities begin. The juniors like to be read to; the middle group likes work in the art room—painting, linoleum cuts, leather work, basket making, and there is usually a busy group in the pottery; in fact the pottery seems to be a favorite haunt morning and evening. The wood and metal workshop is full every night.

There is no work, that is, no organized work, after six or six-thirty. On Monday nights the pupils go to the local cinema on their parents' bill, and when the program changes on the Thursday those who have the money may go again. Pocket money is given out on Thursday for this reason.

On Tuesday night the staff and seniors have my psychological talk. The juniors have various reading groups then. Wednesday night is lounge night, that is, dance night. Dance records are selected from a great pile, and as the lounge is next door to our sitting room I dread Wednesday nights, for the tunes that the children like are to me simply a dreadful noise. They are all good dancers, and some visitors say that they feel inferior when they dance with them.

Thursday night has nothing special on, for the seniors go to the cinema, and Fri-

day is left for any special event, such as play rehearsing. Saturday night is our most important one for it is General Meeting night. Dancing usually follows, and Sunday is our Theater evening.

There is no distinct time-table for handwork. There are no set lessons in woodwork. Children make what they want to, and what they want to make is nearly always a toy revolver or gun or boat or kite. They are not much interested in elaborate joints of the dovetail variety; even the older boys do not fancy elaborate joints.

A workshop is the most troublesome department of a free school. In the early days the workshop was always open, and as a result every tool got lost or damaged, for a child of nine would use a fine chisel as a screwdriver, or take out a pair of pliers to mend his bike and leave them lying on the path. I had my own private workshop separated from the main workshop by a partition and locked door. My conscience kept pricking me; I felt that I was being selfish and asocial, and at last I knocked down the partition. In six months there wasn't a good tool in what had been my division. One boy used up all the letter punches making cotter pins for his motor-cycle; another tried to put my lathe in screw-cutting gear when it was running. Polished planishing hammers for brass and silver work were used for breaking bricks. Tools disappeared and were never found. Worst of all the interest in handwork died away, for the elder pupils said: "What's the good of going into the workshop? All the tools are rotten now." And rotten they were. Planes had teeth in their blades; and saws had none. I proposed at a meeting that the workshop be locked again, and the motion was carried. But in showing visitors round I had a feeling of shame when I had to unlock the workshop each time. What! Freedom, and locked doors? It looked bad indeed, and I decided to give the school an extra workshop which would

remain open all the time. I got one fitted out with everything necessary—bench, vise, saws, chisels, planes, hammers, pliers, set squares, etc. One or two of the bigger lads sharpened up all the tools.

One day about four months later I was showing a party round the school. When I unlocked the workshop one of them said: "This doesn't look like freedom, does it?"

"Well," I said hurriedly, "you see the children have another workshop which is open all day long. Come along. I'll show you it."

There was nothing left in it except the bench. Even the vise had gone, and in what sundry corners of our twelve acres the chisels and hammers lay I never knew.

The workshop business continued to worry the staff, but myself most of all, because tools mean much to me. I concluded that what was wrong was that the tools were communal. "Now," I said to myself, "if we introduce the possessive element, if each child has his own kit of tools." I brought it up at a meeting, and the idea was well received. Next term some of them brought back kits of tools, and in two months these also were kicking about the grounds. I had to conclude that children are not interested in tools. Possibly it is the range of ages that causes most of the trouble, for assuredly tools mean almost nothing to small boys and girls.

Locking doors has increased recently at Summerhill. I brought the matter up one Saturday night.

"I don't like it," I said. "I took visitors round this morning and had to unlock the workshop, the laboratory, the pottery and the theater. I propose that all public rooms be left open all day."

There was a storm of dissent.

"The laboratory must be kept locked because of the poisons, and as the pottery is joined on to the laboratory it has to be kept locked too."

"We won't have the workshop left open. Look what happened last time."

"Well, then," I pleaded, "surely to goodness we can leave the theater open. Nobody will run away with the stage."

The playwrights, actors, actresses, stage-manager, lightsman—they all rose at once.

Said the lightsman: "You left it open this morning and in the afternoon some idiot switched on all the lights, 3,000 watts at ninepence a unit."

Another said: "The small kids take out the costumes and dress in them."

The upshot was that my proposal to leave doors unlocked was supported by two hands—my own and a girl of seven, who, I discovered later, thought that we were still voting on the previous motion that children of seven be allowed to go to the cinema.

The hardest lesson we adults have had to learn is that children have no regard for property. They do not destroy it deliberately; they destroy it unconsciously. In our innocence we lined their bedrooms with beaverboard in order to make them warmer. Beaverboard is a kind of thick pasteboard, and a small child has only to see it to start picking holes in it. The beaverboard wall of the ping-pong room looks like Ypres after a bombardment. Boys seem to be more destructive than girls, possibly because they are less conscious, but destructiveness is seldom a senseless thing. The boring of beaverboard is similar to nose boring, and it is usually quite unconscious, but destruction often has a creative meaning and intention. If a boy needs a piece of metal for a boat keel he will take a nail if he can find one, but if he cannot find a nail he will use my precious Whitworth taps if one of them happens to be about the right size. A tap, like a nail, is to a child a chunk of metal. A bright lad once used a guinea whitewash brush for tarring a roof.

We have learned that children have values that are entirely different from adult values. If a school tries to uplift a child by giving it beautiful classical paintings on

the walls and beautiful furniture in the rooms, it is beginning at the wrong end. Children are primitives, and until they ask for culture they should live in as primitive environment as we can give them. Nine years ago when we came to our present house we had the agony of seeing primitive lads throwing their knives at beautiful oak doors. We hastily bought two railway carriages and made them into a bungalow with roof over all, and a sitting room between, and a bathroom overhead. There our primitives could chuck their knives as much as they wanted to. Yet today the carriages are not in a bad state. They are inhabited by boys from twelve to eighteen, and the majority of them have reached the stage of caring for comfort and decorations. Some of them keep their compartments beautifully tidy and clean; others live in untidiness, and they are mostly boys who have come from Public Schools. You can always tell the ex-Public School lads in Summerhill; they are the most unwashed and wear the greasiest flannel bags.

Girls, on the whole, are tidier than the boys. Seldom do we get a girl who won't wash. We have one at present, age nine, just arrived from a home where Granny had a complex about cleanliness and apparently washed Mildred ten times a day. Her housemother came to me saying: "Mildred hasn't washed for a week. She won't have a bath and she is beginning to smell. What shall I do?"

"Send her in to me," I said, and Mildred came in looking very dirty in hands and face.

"Look here," I said sternly, "this won't do."

"But I don't want to wash," she protested.

"Shut up," I said. "Who's talking about washing? Look in the glass. (She did so.) What do you think of your face?"

"It isn't very clean, is it?" she said with a grin.

"It's too clean," I said. "I won't have girls with clean faces in this school. Now get out."

She went straight to the coal cellar and rubbed her face black. She came back to me triumphantly.

"Will that do?" she asked cheerfully.

I examined her face with due gravity.

"No," I said. "There is a patch of white on that cheek."

Mildred had a bath that night.

Parents too often attach far too much importance to tidiness. It is one of the seven deadly virtues, and the man who prides himself on his tidiness is usually a second-rate fellow who values the second best in life. The tidiest person has the most untidy mind. I say it with all the detachment of a man whose desk always looks like a heap of papers under a No Litter notice in a public park.

I sometimes daydream about the school I should build if I had money. It would be built by the village blacksmith, at least the department for boys and girls between eight and fourteen would be. Inspired by the wonderful pictures I used to see of school children in America building their own school, I used to think that such a way was the only way. It isn't. Believe me it isn't. If children build their own school be sure that some gentleman with a breezy, benevolent authority is standing by shouting encouragement lustily. When this authority is not present children simply do not build schools.

Last summer we needed a sanatorium, and we decided to build one ourselves, a proper san. of brick and cement. None of us had ever laid a brick. We started in, and a few pupils helped to dig the foundations and knock down brick walls for the bricks. *But they demanded payment.* We refused to give wages, and in the end the san. was built by staff and visitors. The job was too dull for children, and they had no self-interest in it. But at the beginning of this term when they wanted a

cycle shed they built one themselves without any help from the staff.

I am writing of children, not as we adults think they should be, but of children as they really are. Their real community sense does not develop until the age of eighteen or more. Their interests are immediate, and the future does not exist for them. They are so much more unconscious than we are. I know that much of the work I do has a dual motive; I dig in order to get potatoes, but I realize that I could use the time more profitably if I wrote newspaper articles and paid a laborer to dig the garden. I dig because the second motive is more important to me than newspaper guineas: I want to keep healthy. My friend, R. C. Watson, the Aldeburgh car dealer, stands and tells me what a fool I am to dig in an age of mechanics and I tell him that motors are ruining the health of the nation because no one walks or digs nowadays. He and I are old enough to be conscious of health problems, but a child is completely unconscious of health. No boy would dig in order to keep himself fit, so that in any work he has only a single motive—his interest at the time. He might justly reason thus: What's the use of a san. to me? I'm not sick and ain't going to be sick. But a bike shed, now, that's different. My saddle will keep dry at nights."

Boys and girls who would not lend a hand to mix cement, will spend days digging deep trenches in a phantasy warfare. That may be the reason why we get such good reports of the industry of our expupils: they have lived out their phantasy self-centred stage in Summerhill, and can face the realities of life without any unconscious longing for the playhood of childhood.

THE SEX QUESTION

Opponents of coeducation are those who fear that if you have boys and girls educated together they will sleep together. They do not say that this is behind

their doubts and fears. They rationalize: girls have a slower tempo in learning, it makes boys effeminate and girls masculine, and so on. But deep down is the moral fear, which is a jealous fear. The old want the young to be moral because the old want to keep the best things in life for themselves. That is the only excuse for morality. All other excuses are evasions. Sex is the greatest pleasure in the world, and it is repressed because it is the greatest pleasure in the world.

So that every now and again an adult comes to the school and says: "But don't they all sleep with each other?" and when I answer that they don't, he or she cries: "But why not? At their age I would have had a hell of a good time."

It is necessary to discuss sex as it appears at various ages. Freud has made us all familiar with the idea that sex is there from the beginning of life, that the baby has a sexual pleasure in sucking, and that gradually the erotic zone of the mouth gives place to that of the genitals. Thus masturbation in a child is a natural discovery, not a very important discovery at first, because the genitals are not so pleasurable as the mouth or even the skin. It is the parental Verbot that makes masturbation so great a complex, and the sterner the Verbot the deeper the sense of guilt and the greater the compulsion to indulge.

The well brought up infant should come to school with no guilty feeling about masturbation at all. There are few, if any, of our Cottage children who have any special interest in masturbation, because no Verbot has made the interest a guilty, hidden one. Sex to them has not the attraction of something mysterious: from their earliest time with us (if they have not been told at home) they know the facts of birth, not only where babies come from but how they are made. At that early age such information is received without emotion, partly because it is given without emotion. So it comes that at the age of fifteen or seven-

teen such children can discuss sex without any feeling of wrong or pornography.

It is the removal of the guilt complex about masturbation that makes Summerhill what a doubter would call "safe." It is this freedom from guilt that has given us a record of sixteen years without any signs of homosexuality. Some years ago a Public School boy tried to introduce sodomy, but he had no success, and was incidentally surprised and alarmed when he discovered that the whole school knew about his efforts. This absence of homosexuality is of the greatest importance. It suggests that homosexuality is masturbation on promotion: you masturbate with the other bloke and he shares the guilt with you and thus lightens your burden. When masturbation is not considered a sin the necessity to share the guilt does not arise. The root basis of the whole sex question is masturbation. When that is free the child naturally goes on to heterosexuality at the proper time. Many unhappy marriages are due to the fact that both parties are suffering from an unconscious hate of sexuality arising from buried self-hate due to masturbation Verbots. The question of masturbation is *the* super-eminent one in education. Subjects, discipline, order, games, all are vain and futile if the masturbation question remains unsolved. Freedom in masturbation means glad, happy, eager children who are not much interested in masturbation. Masturbation Verbot means miserable, unhappy children often prone to colds and epidemics, hating themselves and consequently hating others. I say that the happiness and cleverness of Summerhill children is due to the removal of the bogie of fear and self-hate that masturbation Verbots give.

I have said that there is no homosexuality in Summerhill. That is true, but there is in Summerhill, as in any other place where there are any children, an unconscious homosexuality during a certain stage of development. It is passive, negative. Our

boys of nine and ten have no use for girls at all. They despise them. Their unconscious homosexuality makes them go in gangs, but gangs that are not interested in sex; their interest is making folks "stick 'em up!" So girls of that age go in girls' gangs; their interest is still in their own sex. Boys and girls are not much interested in each other until they are about fifteen or sixteen.

I am often asked if I have any fears that things may happen between the older pupils. I have no fears, because I know that I am not dealing with children who have a repressed and therefore unnatural interest in sex. Some years ago we had two pupils arrive at the same time, a boy of seventeen from a Public School and a girl of sixteen from a girls' school. They fell in love with each other. They were always together. I met them late one night, and I stopped.

"I don't know what you two are doing," I said, "and morally I don't care, for it isn't a moral question at all. But economically I do care. If you, Kate, had a kid my school would be ruined."

I went on to expand the theme.

"You see," I said, "you have just come to Summerhill. To you it means freedom to do what you like. You have, quite naturally, no feeling for the school, and if you had been here from the age of seven I'd never have had to mention it, for you would have had so strong an attachment to the school that you would think of it."

I never spoke to them again on the subject. It was the only possible way of dealing with the problem, for sex is not a moral problem at all.

Children who are freely brought up about sex matters have an open mind about what is called vulgarity. A week or two ago. I heard that clever artist, Max Miller, in the London Palladium. Max sails very near the wind in a breezy Elizabethan manner, but it struck me then that he gets laughs from his audience that he couldn't

have got from Summerhill. Women went off into shrieks when he mentioned ladies' undergarments, but Summerhill children would not see anything funny in them. Six months ago I wrote a play for the Cottage children, quite a "vulgar" play about a woodcutter's son who found a hundred pound note and showed it round ecstatically to his family—which included the cow. The cow swallowed it, and their efforts to get the cow to drop it were in vain. Then the boy had a brilliant idea: they would open a booth at a fair and charge a shilling for a two minutes' entry. If the cow dropped the money during your entry you got it. The play would have brought the house down in a West End music hall. Our children took it in their stride, and the actors (six to nine years old) saw nothing funny about it at all. One of them, a girl of eight, told me that I was silly not to use the proper words in the play; she meant what most people would call improper words.

Improper words! That brings us to swearing.

Swearing is of three kinds: sexual, religious, excremental. In Summerhill the religious kind does not count, because the children are not taught religion. Now most children (and most adults) swear. The army is famous for what a character of Kipling's called "the adjective," and universities and clubs (not only golf clubs) have a sexual and excremental language. Schoolboys swear secretly, and they tell dirty stories. The difference between Summerhill and a prep. school is that in the one the children swear openly, in the other secretly. It is not true that freedom to swear automatically takes all attraction away from obscene words. Our little children use such words freely and without proper context, whereas if a big boy or girl swears, a noun or adjective is used as an adult uses words, that is, appropriately. Sex words are used more commonly than excrement words. Our children have no

feeling that water closets are funny things, and their lack of repression about excrement makes reference to it rather dull. It is different with sex. Sex is so important a thing in life that its vocabulary covers our whole life. In its mentionable form we see it in practically every song and dance. A film story without sex will not thrive. Sex appeal takes more of the national income than books and music; cosmetics sell better than concert tickets. But we must remember that underneath its mentionable form there is always the unmentionable. Behind the bridal carriage old shoe and the rice are the "unmentionables" that these symbolize. The vogue of the risqué story is entirely due to its unmentionableness. In a society that had no sex repressions the unmentionable would disappear. That is what is really happening in Summerhill: nothing is unmentionable. No one is shockable, because being shocked implies having an obscene interest in what shocks you.

Oh, but there are people who cry in horror: "What a crime to rob little children of their innocence!" Ostriches hiding their heads in the sand. Children are never innocent, thank God. They are often ignorant, and it is the depriving the child of ignorance that the ostriches fly into hysterics about. There should not be such a thing as ignorance, and the most suppressed child is never ignorant about much. His contact with other children gives him "knowledge," that dreadful knowledge that miserable little kids give to each other in dark corners. There are no dark corners in Summerhill, and the children have a really clean attitude to life.

One would think that being freely brought up the children would run about naked in summer. They don't. Girls up to nine will go nude on a hot day, but small boys seldom do. This is puzzling when one takes into consideration the Freudian statement that boys are proud of having a penis while girls are ashamed of not having one. Our small boys cer-

tainly do not want to exhibit themselves a lot, and the senior boys and girls never strip. In summer the boys and men wear only shorts without shirts, and the girls wear bathing dresses. There is no sense of privacy about taking baths, and only new pupils lock bathroom doors. Some of the girls take sunbaths in the field, but no boys ever think of spying on them. The boys are not Peeping Toms. Two years ago one of the men on the staff played tennis naked, but the government told him to put his pants on in case tradesmen and visitors came along the front drive. I saw Max, our English master, just before I sailed, digging a trench in the hockey field, assisted by a gang of helpers, ages from nine to fifteen, of both sexes. It was a hot day and Max had stripped. No child seemed to think anything about it.

I dislike any attempt to force nudism on children. They live in a clothed civilization, and nudism must remain something that the law does not permit: the very fact that the law does not permit it is bound to give children a warped attitude to the human body. I have used it myself, or got one of the women staff to use it, in order to satisfy the curiosity of a small child who had a sense of sin about nakedness.

Nine years ago when we came to Leiston we had a duck pond, and in the morning I would go out and have a dip. Some of the women staff and the elder girls and a few big boys used to join me. Then we got a batch of boys from Public Schools. The girls at once began to wear bathing costumes. I asked one, a pretty Swede, why.

"These new boys," she said. "Derrick and the old boys treated it as a natural thing, but these new boys leer and gape, and, well, I don't like it."

Since then I think that the only communal nude bathing has been done during evening trips to the sea.

Do the elder boys and girls fall in love with each other? Of course they do, but

pairing off is seldom seen; if it takes place it is with those of seventeen or eighteen. There is no social attempt to jeer or rag a couple, nor are chalk marks put on the walls. The smallest children play that game sometimes, and when I came away there was a large chalked notice on the play-room outside wall: "James is in love with Sally." James is four, and Sally is three.

The frequent dancing is an excellent outlet for at least unconscious sex interest. I say unconscious because a girl may be a beauty, but if she is a bad dancer she will not get many partners.

We have found that girls who have just come to puberty do not run after the boys. It would appear that the unconscious homosexual component of girls lasts longer than it does with boys. They keep in their gangs, and their relations with the boys are ragging but quite friendly relations. At this age interest in the opposite sex takes an aggressive form. It does so with boys also, so that there is no natural propensity at the age of fourteen to pair off with each other. At this age the girls are jealous of their rights, and the superiority of the boys in strength and roughness makes them annoyed. It seems to be the age of the Masculine Protest.

The sex relations between boys and girls in Summerhill appear to me to be very healthy. One sex will not grow up with any illusions or delusions about the other sex. Not that Summerhill is a family and all the nice little boys and girls are brothers and sisters to each other. If that were so I'd become a rabid anti-coeducationist at once.

Last night I was reading Aldous Huxley's *EYELESS IN GAZA*, and came to a horrible chapter about a prep. school. Miserable little boys not only rag a stutterer, but also torment a boy whom they have caught masturbating. The atmosphere of that school is nauseating. The priggishness of the boys, their complete insincerity—they

seem to be sincere only in their farting exhibitions.

Our juniors have an interest in the Old English word for feces. They use it a lot—the ones from polite homes do, I mean homes that talk of No. 2 and "going to the House of Commons" (how appropriate a name!). Children like Anglo-Saxon words and more than one child has asked my why is it wrong to say "shit" in public but right to say "feces" or "excrement." I'm gravelled if I know. I do know that excrement is to child a most important subject of study, and any suppression of the interest in the interests of "good form" is dangerous and stupid. Adults seldom realize that there is nothing shocking to a child in feces and smells. It is our shocked attitude that gives the child a conscience about them.

One persistent criticism of Summerhill is that the children swear. It is true that they swear—if saying Old English words is swearing. It is true that any new pupil will swear more than is necessary, and at our meetings a girl of thirteen who came from a convent was always being charged with shouting out the word "bugger" when she went bathing. It was impressed on her that she only did it when bathing, and that therefore she was swanking. As one boy put it: "You are just a silly little twirp. You want to swank in front of outside people and show that Summerhill is a free school, and you just do the opposite: you make people down on the school."

In a P.L. I explained to her that she was really trying to do the school harm because she hated it.

"But I don't hate Summerhill," she cried. "It's a topping place."

"Yes," I said, "it is, as you say, a topping place, but you aren't in it. You are still living in your convent, and you have brought all the hate of the convent and the nuns with you. You identify Summerhill with the hated convent, and it isn't

really Summerhill you are trying to damage; it is the convent."

But she went on shouting out her buggers until Summerhill became a real place to her and not a symbol. It is the floating population that makes swearing a social difficulty in Summerhill. Not that the old pupils are saintly in mouth, but the old-timers swear at the right time, so to speak. They use conscious control.

Children accept swearing as a natural language. Adults condemn it because their obscenity is greater than that of children. Parents must ask themselves the question: Shall I allow my children to swear openly, or shall I leave them to be obscene in dirty dark corners like the boys in Huxley's novel? There is no half-way house. The hush hush way leads to the adulthood of tiresome commercial traveller stories and music-hall innuendoes, that is, to an obscene repressive state. The open way leads to a clear clean interest in all life. At a venture I say that our old boys and girls have the cleanest minds in England.

MANNERS

The enquiring mother sometimes expresses a grave doubt: "If I send my son here won't he behave like a barbarian when he comes home for holidays?"

My answer is: "Yes, if you have made him a barbarian already."

It is true that the spoiled child coming to Summerhill goes home as a barbarian for at least the first year. If he has been brought up with manners he will regress to barbarism every time—which only shows how little manners sink into a child. They are the first layer to be dropped under freedom. New children generally show marvellous manners, that is, they behave insincerely. That in Summerhill they come to have good manners is a tribute to the goodness of childhood, for we ask for no manners at all, not even a Thank You or a Please.

Again and again visitors say: "But their

manners are delightful!" Peter, who was with us from the age of eight to nineteen, has just gone to South Africa. His hostess writes: "Everyone here is charmed with his good manners," yet I was quite unconscious of whether he had any manners or not when he was with us. Clearly this business of manners should be looked into.

Firstly let us distinguish between manners and etiquette. Manners are unconscious, but etiquette is conscious. On this ship I should call the behavior good etiquette rather than good manners. We dress for dinner; we rise when a lady approaches our table; we say excuse me when we rise from a table (God knows why). It is all outer meaningless behavior. A Scot and his wife who sit at my table: they and I show real good manners. The dinner bugle goes at seven, and we sit down promptly, but many of the rich people on board do not begin to dress till after the final *Roast Beef of Old England* has been played for dinner, that is, they unthinkingly keep the tired stewards up till late at night. Manners are thinking of others, no, feeling for others. You must be socially conscious to have good manners. Scots, for some obscure reason, have better manners than the English, and the equality a Glasgow tea-shop lassie shows when she discusses the weather with you is one of good manners. Scots are poorer than the English, and it is among the poor that manners flourish. The etiquette of the rich is a protection of their possessions, but the manners of the poor are the expression of a love for one's fellows. A classless society would not need etiquette, but it would have manners.

Now, Summerhill is a classless society. The wealth and position of your father does not count. What counts is your personality. And what counts for most is your sociability, your being a good member of the community. Our good manners spring from our self-government, for in self-government you are constantly being compelled to see the other person's point of view.

It is unthinkable that any Summerhill child would mock a stutterer or jeer at one who was lame, yet prep. school boys sometimes do both—boys who say Please, and Thank You and Excuse me, sir. Manners are a matter of sincerity.

I never notice bad manners amongst small children, no doubt because I do not look for them. Yet I have never seen a child rush in between two visitors who were talking together. They never knock at my sitting-room door, but if I have visitors they simply retire quietly, often saying, "Sorry." A good compliment to their manners was recently given by Watson, who comes to see us often and always in a different car, for his trade is selling used cars. He said to me: "I've come here with cars for the last three years, and never once has a kid scratched a wing or attempted to enter a car. And this is the school where the kids are alleged to break windows all day long."

I have already mentioned their friendliness to visitors. This friendliness might be classed as good manners, for I have never heard the most antagonistic visitor complain of being molested in any way by any pupil who has been six months in the school. Our theater performances are marked by excellent audience manners always. Even a bad turn or play is applauded more or less—naturally less, but the general feeling is that the actor or dramatist has done his or her best, and should not be censured or despised.

In the dining room etiquette is not a strong point. Feeding is so intensive and instinctive an affair that children become more or less unconscious when tucking in. Table manners come later, come without forcing or encouragement. Parents who are strict at table simply give children hate complexes about food, and it is possible that the complexes children often have about certain foods are linked up with silly parental ideas of table manners. A child should have the same choice of food

that an adult has; he should never be forced to eat what he doesn't like. In Summerhill we always give even the smallest child complete freedom to choose from the daily menu, and we always have a choice of three middle-course dishes for dinner. One result is, of course, that we have less wastage than most schools have, but that is not our motive: we want to save the child rather than the food.

Our dining room is a noisy place. Children, like animals, are loud at meal times. We only allow visitors without noise complexes to dine with us. Here I confess to cowardice, for my wife and I dine alone, but then my wife and I spend about two hours a day serving out their dinner.

Jealousy is something that has to be guarded against in the dining room. Even some of the staff are jealous when visitors receive any special dish, and if the cook gives one senior pupil asparagus the others will wax eloquent about kitchen favorites. Food is the most important thing in a child's life, much more important than sex. This is natural, sex is something that has contact with the outside world. The sex organs are the only part of the body that requires another for fulfilment, so that all social feelings originate in the sexual organs. The stomach is egocentric, selfish, and children have not the urge to extreme social contact because their sex organs are not developed. Egoism belongs to childhood, and when allowed freedom to live itself out this egoism gradually becomes altruism. The boy of ten is far more possessive about his plate of mutton than the old tribal chief was about his women. The psychology of the child must be sought for in his guts. Naturally, for feeding comes first in life. Eating is as much a sexual pleasure as intercourse is, and in childhood it is the greatest pleasure of all. It is therefore too fundamental, too vital to be marred and perverted by table manners. The sad truth is that the children in Summerhill who have the worst table manners

are those who have been brought up genteelly. The more Rolls-Royce the home, the worse the table manners—and all other manners.

THE WEAR AND TEAR OF FREEDOM

I have suggested more than once in these pages that the adults in Summerhill are no paragons of virtue. We are human like everyone else, and our human frailties often come into conflict with our theories. An example is that of property. I have often said and written that parents seem to value their property more than they value their children, giving the illustration of how fuss is made if a chair is scratched or a plate broken. But in my own case I find that I sometimes put possession first. If a maid or a child drops a pile of plates I say nothing and my wife says nothing. Accidents are accidents. But if a child borrows a book and leaves it out in the rain my wife gets angry, because books mean much to her. In such a case I am indifferent, for books have little value for me. On the other hand, my wife seems vaguely surprised when I make a fuss about a ruined chisel, for I value tools and they mean nothing to her.

My wife and I are in a special and peculiar position with regard to possessions. Our only home is the school, and there we have hardly any privacy. Our sitting room adjoins the lounge, and we have to listen to every scrap and every painful dance record through the wall. And there is always a noise, for children are naturally noisy. Luckily we have grown accustomed to noise, and we are seldom conscious of it. Still, by the end of the term we are both rather tired not only of noise but also of the constant attention demanded from us. Our life is one of giving all the time, and visitors wear us out more than the children do, for they also want us to give; seldom, if ever, do we have a visitor who has something to give us. Visitors behave very much as children do. Recently

one lady sat herself down and said: "I hope you have the afternoon to spare, Mr. Neill, because I am sure you will be interested in the story of my life." I have been criticised for mentioning myself so much in my books, but it is my only chance to do so, for in daily life I cannot get a word in edgewise about myself. My life is one long give, and it should be. We must give to children. It may be better to give than to receive, but it certainly is more exhausting.

Hence it comes that the adults in Summerhill sometimes get annoyed. Not often, but occasionally. Children are not young adults; they are a different species. They love noise and mud; they clatter on stairs; they shout like louts; they are unconscious of furniture, and, if playing a game of touch, they would walk over the Portland Vase if it happened to be in their way, walk over it without seeing it. I once saw a normal happy girl burn holes with a red-hot poker on the walnut mantelpiece in the staff room. When challenged, she started and seemed quite surprised. "I did it without thinking," she said, and she spoke truly: her action was a symbolic one beyond the control of the conscious mind.

We must face the fact that adults are possessive and children aren't. Any living together between children and adults must result in conflict over things material. Children will mend the fire five minutes before going up to bed; they will heap it with coals, for coals to them are only black rocks, while to me they mean a bill of £200 a year. They will leave electric lights on because they do not associate light with electricity bills, but I cannot complain about the lights; the children, in the main, are considerate, possibly because of my frequent reminders that our district has the dearest electricity in England.

Furniture to a child is non-existent. We buy old car seats and old bus seats, but in a month or two they look wrecks. Every now and again some youngster, waiting for his second helping, will while away

the time by tying his fork into knots. This is a chargeable offense, but it is usually done unconsciously or at best semi-consciously. And it isn't only the school property that they neglect or destroy: their new cycles they leave out in the rain when the newness had had three weeks' vogue. Their destruction at the age of nine or ten is not meant to be evil or antisocial: it is simply because things are not real to them. When the phantasy flight is on them they take their sheets and blankets and make pirate ships in their rooms, and the sheets get black and the blankets torn in the process. And what does a dirty sheet matter when you have hoisted the black flag and fired a broadside?

Really the man who tries to give children freedom should be a millionaire, for it is not fair that the natural carelessness of children should always be in conflict with the economic factor. The argument of the disciplinarian who says that children must be compelled to respect property does not appeal to me, for it always means some sacrifice of childhood's play life. My ideal is that a child should come to a thing of his own free will and choice, and as they leave the pre-adolescent indifference to property stage children become respecters of property. Our seniors, two of them came as crooks years ago, guard our property like watchdogs; the crooks are truly wonderful detectives, but then they know all the tricks of the trade. When children have freedom to live out their indifference to property they have little chance of ever becoming profiteers and exploiters. If Summerhill produces a millionaire I shall consider it has failed.

Our general meetings, alas, show the conflict between children and adults. That is natural, for to have a community of mixed ages and to sacrifice all to the early ages would be a complete spoiling of the child. The adults make bitter complaint if a gang of seniors have laughed and talked after we have all gone to bed, for

our rooms are on top of each other. Parsons complains that he spent an hour planing up a panel for the front door, went to lunch, and came back to find that Billy had converted it into a shelf. I make accusations against the boys who borrowed my soldering outfit and didn't return it. My wife makes a fuss because three small children came after supper and said they were hungry and got bread and jam—and Ivy found the pieces lying in the passage next morning. Corkhill reports sadly that a gang threw his precious clay at each other in the pottery. So it goes on, the fight between the adult point of view and the juvenile lack of awareness of things. But it never degenerates into personalities: there is no feeling of bitterness against the individual. This conflict keeps Summerhill very much alive; there is always something happening, and there isn't a dull minute in the whole year. And luckily the staff is not too possessive. I myself am possessive only about certain things. It hurts me when I have bought a special tin of paint at 25s. a gallon and I find that a girl has taken it to paint an old bedstead with. I am possessive about my car and my typewriter and my workshop tools, but I have no feeling of possession about books and furniture and clothes and people. If you are possessive about people you ought not to be a schoolmaster. I had to face this issue boldly. I used to find that I was irritated when two young things fell in love, and I rationalized my emotion and thought that my irritation was really fear of awkward consequences. When I realized that it was nothing of the kind but a possessive jealousy of the young, all my irritation and fear went. The damnable thing is that you have to be possessive in a possessive civilization. Since our children will be forced by environment to be possessive why should we try to make them possessive before their time? Their job is to create, and if their creation involves the destruction of our precious belongings we

must grin and bear it, even when we do make a fuss about it.

The wear and tear of materials in Summerhill is a natural process. It could be obviated only by the introduction of fear. The wear and tear of psychic forces cannot be obviated in any way, for children ask and must be given. Fifty times a day my sitting room door opens and a child asks a question: "Is this cinema night?" "Why don't I get P.Ls?" "Have you seen Corks?" and most common of all: "Where's Mrs. Lins?" It is all in the day's work, and I do not feel any strain therefrom, but by the end of a term my wife and I are fatigued, fatigued by three months of giving. Then there is the fatigue of showing round visitors. Every summer I become a kind of commissionaire without uniform. Scores of times I walk with visitors. . . . "This is the lab . . . yes, we built the san. ourselves . . . and here is the theatre" . . . and so on. And most of the questions visitors ask are the same: "But how will children brought up like this fit into life?" . . . "But is it really necessary for a child to swear?" By the end of the summer term I feel like screaming if I see a strange car drive up.

The staff, on the whole, does not get sucked dry as my wife and I do. That is because my wife and I are symbolic figures in the school. She is every child's mother; I am every child's father. In some cases we represent the ideal parents who seldom scold and never moralize, and children who have fear of their real parents haunt our sitting room. The children of really free parents never come near us. The others are always testing us out. One boy of eleven whose father is a strict man opens my door twenty times a day, looks in, says nothing and shuts the door again. I sometimes cry at him: "No, I'm not dead yet." He has given me the love that his own father would not accept, and he has a fear that his ideal new father may disappear, a fear that covers the wish that his unsatisfactory father should disappear.

Sometimes my wife has weeks of wearing out when a spoiled little child comes new to school, especially the upper middle-class little girl of seven or eight who has had everything done for her by nurses. Such a child is a heavy burden, not only because of its demands, but also because of its hate: every spoilt child has a hell of a lot of hate in it.

Added to all this is the working out of the transference that comes from P.L.s. If you tell a child any vital truth, or if it confides its troubles to you, he or she gets a transference, that is, you get all the child's emotions showered on you. When I have cleared up a small child about birth and masturbation the transference is very strong. At one stage it may take the form of a negative transference, a hate transference, but with a normal child this does not last long, and the positive love transference soon follows it. A child's transference breaks easily. Soon he forgets all about me and his emotions go out to things and other children. Girls naturally get a stronger transference to me than do boys, but I cannot say that a girl gets a positive and a boy a negative transference.

It is much easier to live with children who fear you than with children who love you, that is, you have a quieter life, for when they fear you children give you a wide berth. My wife and I and our staff are loved by the children because we approve of them, and that is all they want. It is because they know that we will not give them disapproval that they often haunt us. Our sitting room is filled with children nearly every night, and we often have gramophone records on the super-radio-gram. Here disagreements arise. They want Duke Ellington and Ambrose and I hate the stuff. . . . We make no attempt to lead them to higher tastes, whatever higher may mean. Our view is that every child should have the chance of hearing Duke Ellington and Pachmann. So we have no censorship of cinema-going. By

seeing all films they find out for themselves what is good, and jolly good taste they acquire too.

On the whole, the adults in Summerhill sacrifice much for the children. We have no real private life, partly because the house is not a good one for a school, not good from the poor adult's point of view, for the children are always on top of us.

One noteworthy fact is that seldom if ever does a member of the staff lose his or her temper. I have lost mine about three times in the last nine years, and then I only swore a lot. That says as much for the children as for the staff. Really they are delightful children to live with, and the occasions for losing a temper are very few. If a child is free to approve of itself it will not be hateful, and it will not see any fun in trying to make an adult lose its temper. We had one woman teacher who was oversensitive to criticism, and the girls ragged her. They could not rag any other member of the staff, because no other member would react. You can only rag people who have dignity, and we have none. Ragging in a friendly fashion they naturally do. There is no element of wounding in their ragging; it is really an expression of love. Living with them is a full life, and the joys outweigh the annoyances so heavily that it is a happy life for adult and child.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF APPROVAL

Last night I sat on deck and listened to a discussion on the treatment of the criminal. I took no part in the discussion, partly because I hate argument, partly because these people were talking in a different language. One good lady, obviously a firm believer in the mission of the English—the civilizing mission of imperialism—was of opinion that the only way to punish the criminal is to make him feel physical pain. "He should get what he gave, only more so," she said. And she looks like a nice, kindly, normal person. Most of the others appeared to agree with

her. Bored by the talk I rose to go to bed, and the lady said to me: "What would you do with the criminal, Mr. Neill?"

"Reward him," I said, and as I departed they all laughed at my joke.

These nice people were expressing the opinion that is held by the great majority. The usual belief is that if you give a boy a reward of sixpence for stealing your goods, he will of course steal more goods in order to get more rewards. It seems the logical thing to do, and most of us work by logic, forgetting that psycho-logic is something entirely different and something infinitely more important than mere logic. That the boy does not steal in order to get further reward proves that logic is not enough. He does not steal more, and he is likely to steal less. In fact he has an excellent chance of being cured by the reward method.

The logical person leaves out one mighty factor: the unconscious motive. In every case of juvenile stealing the child feels itself an unloved child. The theft is a symbolic attempt to get something of great value, and whether the theft is one of money or jewellery or whatnot, the unconscious wish is to steal love. Hence when I give a boy sixpence for stealing my baccy I am aiming at his unconscious feeling, not his conscious thought. He may think I am a mug, but what he thinks does not matter much: it is what he feels that matters, and he feels that I am his friend, his approver, one who gives him love instead of hate. Every child feels that punishment is hate (and it is, of course), and every punishment makes the child hate more and more. If you study the diehard who says, "I believe in corporal punishment. I got my share of it when I was a kid, and damme, sir, it did me a power of good"—if you study this man you will always find him a hater. The final truth is that hate breeds hate and love breeds love, and no child was ever cured unless by love.

Every child is not a thief, only the in-

ferior child is. Yet every child requires the same love and approval that should be given to the crook proper. Symbolically every adult is a father or mother to the child, and, every time an adult punishes, the child acquires a fear and hate of the adult behind the symbol—father or mother. That is a disturbing thought.

I have said before, said for years, that many parents treat their children as if they hated them. On this boat there are children who are obviously loved by their parents, but there are others who are not loved. One mother nags her daughter of ten all day long: "Don't go in the sun, darling . . . dearest, please keep away from that railing . . . no, love, you can't go into the swimming pool today, you will catch your death of cold. . . ." The nagging is not a love token; it is a token of the mother's fear that covers an unconscious hate. The girl fears and hates her mother, and is about as spoiled a darling as one can hope to see. For that poor kid I can see only an adult life of discontent and hate, for she gets no approval at all from her mother, and the father looks as if he could approve but fears to in his wife's presence.

You can only give a child love if you have remained a child yourself. The tragedy of adults is that they have grown up and have forgotten their childhood; the little girl on this boat will be glad to forget her childhood I should imagine, and her children will in turn suffer. To deal successfully with children, whether you are a parent or a teacher, you must be able to understand their thoughts and feelings. And you must have a sense of humor—childish humor. To be humorous with a child gives the child the feeling that you love it, but the humor must never be cutting or critical. It is wrong to treat a child with humor at the wrong time, and his little dignity should never be attacked. If he has a genuine grievance it must be taken seriously.

Children under suppression are cruel in

their jokes. I have hardly ever seen a practical joke played in Summerhill, and the ones I have seen were usually engineered by new arrivals from prep. or Public Schools. Sometimes at the beginning of a term, when the children return from the greater suppression of home, there are teasing displays, hiding bicycles and so on, but these do not last over the first week. In the main the humor of Summerhill is a kindly one, and the reason for that is the sense of being loved, approved of. It proves the point that the child is born good, and remains good when all opportunity to hate and fear is abolished.

WHAT THE PUBLIC WANTS TO KNOW
ABOUT SUMMERHILL

I write this chapter in South Africa. In it I shall try to answer the many questions the people here have asked me when I lectured.

If a child is doing something dangerous at Summerhill do you allow him to do it?

Of course not. People so often fail to understand that freedom for children does not mean being a fool about children. We do not allow our little children to decide what food they will eat, or when they shall go to bed. We guard them against dangers from motors or broken glass or airguns or deep water. You should never give a child responsibility that he is not ready for. But remember that half the dangers that children encounter are due to bad education. The child who is dangerous with fire is one who was forbidden to know the truth about fire by being allowed to burn himself a little.

What is your policy with a child brought up in a sincerely religious home? Do you allow it to practise religion?

Yes, the child can practise religion without having any adverse comments made by staff or pupils, but I find that no child wants to practise religion when he is free.

Some new pupils go to church for a few Sundays and then they cease going. Church is too dull. I see no signs that worship is a natural thing in children, and when the sense of sin is washed out prayer is never used. Generally children from a religious home are insincere and repressed. That is inevitable under a religious system that has lost its original love of life and concentrates on its fear of death. You can give a child fear of the Lord and that is all, a fear of the Lord that is the source of unhappiness and neurosis. Children do not need a religion because their life is a spiritual creative one.

Why do so many adults express gratitude to a strict master of their childhood?

Conceit mostly. The man who gets up at a meeting and says: "I was thrashed as a kid and it did me a hell of a lot of good," is virtually saying: "Look at me. I'm a success in spite of, even because of my early thrashings." And a slave does not really want freedom. He is incapable of appreciating freedom. Outside discipline makes men slaves, inferiors, masochists. They hug their chains. Safety First is a phrase that surely was coined by a man who thanked God that his teachers had given him it in the neck.

In your school government is there competition for government posts? If so, is this a cause of jealousy?

Being on the government is so strenuous a life that there is no competition for office. On the contrary, only the most advanced pupils will take on social duties. Even when the government members were paid officials there was no competition for offices.

What would you do with a child who plays truant?

In Pretoria I answered: "Shoot his headmaster."

Under Summerhill system how does a child's will power develop? If allowed to do what he pleases how can self-control develop?

This question (a common one) shows how difficult it is to grasp the whole idea of Summerhill. A child is not allowed to do as he pleases. His own laws hedge him in on all sides. He is allowed to do as he pleases in all things that affect him and him only; he can play all day if he wants to, because working is a matter that concerns him alone, but he is not allowed to play a cornet in the Maths' room because his playing interferes with others.

But what, after all, is will power? The quality that Mussolini has? Or the power that makes a man give up smoking? To me the will is the deep unconscious, the ID. There is no Free Will, because what we will consciously is not of the greatest importance. I can "will" myself to give up tobacco, but I cannot will myself to fall in love with Greta Garbo, nor will myself to like botany. No man can will himself to be good, or, for that matter, bad.

You cannot train a person to have a strong will, but if you educate children in freedom they will be more conscious of themselves, for freedom allows more and more of the unconscious to become conscious. That is why most Summerhill children have no doubts about life: they know what they want, and I guess they will get it too. Remember also that what is called a weak will is usually a sign of lack of interest. The "weak" person who is easily persuaded to play tennis when he has no desire to play tennis, is a person who has no ideas of what his interests really are, and a slave discipline system encourages such a person to remain weak-willed and rather futile.

What is the cause of excessive worry about work, and why do so many young people commit suicide nowadays?

I question if any child has ever worried

about work. The apparent worry has a deeper source, and almost invariably it is one arising from a sense of sin about masturbation. Children who have no guilt about masturbation are usually bright and keen in their work.

I imagine that the second part of the question deserves the same answer. The masturbation Verbot is one that causes a child to hate its body and soul, and suicide is a logical reaction.

What do you do when a young child contracts the smoking habit?

A child has no natural appetite for smoking, and if he smokes it is because he wants to be grown up. Owing to the inferiority complex that a child's small size gives him, he tends to identify himself with adults. Thus nearly every new pupil begins to smoke in Summerhill when he finds that he is free to do so. But the smoking does not last more than a day or two, and the child returns to something more enticing, his sweets. Some of the eldest pupils smoke, but others never smoke at all.

What do you do with a child who is obstinate and sulks?

I don't know. I never see one. There is no occasion for obstinacy when a child is free. Defiance in a child is always the fault of the adult. If your attitude to a child is a love one you will do nothing to make him obstinate. An obstinate child has a "grouse," and my job would be to find out what was at the root of the grouse. I should guess a feeling that he has been treated unjustly at home.

By showing that you are on the side of a young thief does he not interpret this as indicating your approval of stealing as a pastime? What causes him to discontinue a pastime which to him has your approval?

The question shows that the asker does

not think in terms of the Unconscious. A child symbolically steals love, and if re-proved or punished he realizes that he is being given hate. If I reward a thief for stealing I make him feel that I am on his side, that I approve of him, that I love him. When he has my love (and remember that I am a father substitute) he does not need to steal love in the symbolic form of money or fountain pens. If parents were on the side of their children there would be no young thieves.

Have you ever had any failures at your school?

Oh, yes. One or two girls from convents came too late, and could not realize what freedom meant. A few boys from public schools who also came too late. Some children turned out to be pathological and had to be sent elsewhere. One boy will possibly be a failure in life because his parents gave him a fear of the supposed evils of masturbation. He could not work because his whole interest was the morbid one: Am I going to hell? I tried in vain to get his parents to take off the masturbation Verbot. They wouldn't, and the boy will possibly go through life unable to settle down to anything.

One bright boy could not get over his antisocial stage. We sent him to live with the cowboys of Texas and then with the Red Indians. He lived out his primitive interests there, and returned to Summerhill a fine lad.

There is always a good possibility of failure when the parents are against the school. It sounds incredible that such parents send their children to Summerhill, but sometimes they do because other schools have failed, and they select Summerhill in desperation. That is partly why we gave up taking young crooks who had been expelled from the Public Schools. Their parents usually had no belief in freedom; if they had their children wouldn't have been crooks.

Do children ever attend church on their own?

No. New pupils may go to church to begin with, but after about three Sundays they cease going. No one comments on their going to church, and nothing is ever said against church-going. I expect a child soon senses that Summerhill believes in original virtue, while the churches believe in original sin.

What do you do with a child who answers back?

The question was apparently asked by a class teacher. No child ever answers back, because you only answer back when you are treated as an inferior by someone who is dignified. In Summerhill we speak the language of the children, and if a teacher complained of being answered back I should know that he or she was a dud.

How does a child react to home after being at school, I mean during the holidays?

That depends on the home. Some of the homes are like the school; the children are not suppressed, and they go home and return to school with pleasure. But in the main they prefer school because their playmates are there, and a holiday in a London flat is rather dreary. Consequently some pupils return to school before the holidays end. This is occasionally a matter for jealousy on the part of the parents.

Other children have suppression at home, and we can always tell what the home is like when they return to us after a long holiday. I have taken children by train to London at the end of the term and had a quiet journey. I have brought them back to school at the beginning of the term and had a wretched journey, for the suppressed ones let off steam and made themselves a damned nuisance.

How does the Summerhill government

insist on fines? Suppose a child refuses to pay the fine?

Children never do. I expect they would refuse if they felt they had been treated unjustly. Our appeal system overcomes any fear of injustice.

You told of a row you made when some children pulled up your potato plants. Why didn't you reward them by giving them the whole field of potatoes?

If I reward a boy for stealing I am dealing with a love-starved youth, who must be treated psychologically. But when a few normal children raid my potato patch it is a social problem of give and take. I stand up for my rights socially as a matter of course, and as there is no fear of me as a headmaster I can charge a group at a general meeting just as any child can charge a group. And as I am not a perfect person and do not want to be, I have a human reaction when the labor of hours is negated by the boyishness of campers-out. I have the same right to be protected by law and order as the child has, and I use this right when it is a matter of group action. If I were to make every law breakage a matter of individual psychology, social life would be impossible, and the children would throw up self-government in disgust.

Do you believe in home lessons?

I don't even believe in school lessons unless they are chosen voluntarily. The home lesson habit is disgraceful. Children loathe home lessons, and that is enough to condemn them.

Do you believe in corporal punishment?

This question came after I had spoken for over an hour on child psychology. It reminds me of the lady who was being shown over the engine-room of a ship. "I understand it all clearly," she said, "but there is only one thing that puzzles me: what is the use of the boiler?"

But perhaps the question should be answered. Corporal punishment is evil because it is cruel and hateful. It makes the giver and the recipient hate. It is an unconscious sexual perversion. In communities where masturbation is suppressed the punishment is given on the hand, the means of masturbation. In segregated boys' schools where homosexuality is suppressed the caning is given on the bottom, the object of desire. The religious hate of the "vile flesh" makes corporal punishment popular in narrowly religious regions.

Corporal punishment is always a projected act. The giver hates himself and projects his hate on to the child. The mother who spansks her child hates herself, and in consequence hates her child. If a school were a play-place with freedom to learn or not learn strapping and caning would automatically die out. Many schools do not use corporal punishment, but they are schools in which the teachers know their job.

Why do some boys only learn when they feel physical pain?

I expect that I could learn to recite the Koran if I knew that I'd be flogged if I didn't. One result of course would be that I should hate the Koran and the flogger and myself. The only thing that a flogged boy learns is that the cane is painful. I don't know what sort of a person asked the question. It may have been a South Africa magistrate, for caning of small children for "crimes" like playing marbles on the street seems to be fashionable in the Union. One doctor told me of supervising the caning of sixty small native children. He said that the second cut drew blood. Such a custom is unspeakable, but so long as we tolerate caning in the school we cannot say much about the barbarities of magistrates. Anyway, since learning is of no moment, why cane at all? We can only discuss corporal punishment as a branch of sexual perversion.

Why do children masturbate and how should we stop them?

We must distinguish between infantile masturbation and adult masturbation. Infantile masturbation is really not masturbation at all. It begins with curiosity. The infant discovers its hands and nose and toes, and mother crows with delight. But when it discovers its sexual apparatus mother hastily takes the hand away. The main effect is to make the sexual organs the most interesting parts of the body. The infant's erotic zone is the mouth, and when small children have had no moral Verbots about masturbation they have very little interest in their sexual organs. If a small child is a masturbator the cure is to approve of the habit, for then the child has no morbid compulsion to indulge.

With older children who have reached puberty approval will lessen the habit. But remember that sex must find some outlet, and because marriage is always late owing to the fact that the young cannot marry until they can afford to set up a house, the sexually ripe are faced with two alternatives: masturbation and clandestine sexual intercourse. The moralists condemn both, but they will not offer a substitute. Oh, yes, of course, they advocate chastity, which means the crucifixion of the flesh. But since only a few monastics can apparently crucify the flesh definitely, the rest of us cannot get away from affording sex an outlet. Until marriage is made independent of the financial element the masturbation problem will continue to be a big one. Our films and novels rouse sex in the young and lead to masturbation because proper sex is denied to youth. The fact that everyone has masturbated doesn't help much. The Companionate Marriage seems about the only way out. But so long as sex is attached to sin this is not a likely social solution.

But to return to the question: tell the child that there is nothing sinful about it, and if you have already told him lies about

its alleged consequences, disease, madness, etc., be brave enough to tell him you were a liar. Then and only then will masturbation become something of less importance to him.

Do you honestly think it is right to allow a boy, naturally lazy, to go his own easy way doing as he chooses, wasting time? How do you set him to work when work is distasteful to him?

Laziness doesn't exist. The lazy boy is either physically ill or he has no interest in the things that adults think he ought to do. I have never seen a Summerhill child who came before the age of twelve who was lazy. I have had many a "lazy" lad sent from a desk school. Such a lad remains "lazy" for quite a long time, that is, until he recovers from his education. I do not set him to work that is distasteful to him, because he isn't ready for it. Like you and me he will have many a thing to do that he hates doing, but if he is left free to live through his play period he will face any difficulty later. No ex-Summerhillian has been accused of laziness.

How can I stop my child from sucking its thumb?

Don't try. If you succeed you'll probably drive the child back to a pre-sucking interest. What does it matter? Lots of efficient folk have sucked their thumbs. Thumb-sucking shows that the mother's breast interest has not been lived out, but as you cannot give a child of eight the breast, all you can do is to see that the child has as much creative interest as possible. But that does not always cure. I have had creative pupils who sucked their thumbs up to the age of puberty. Leave it alone.

If a child is given absolute freedom, how soon will it realize that self discipline is an essential of living, or will it ever realize that?

There isn't such a thing as absolute freedom, and anyone who allows a child to get all its own way is a dangerous person. Social freedom no one can have, for the rights of others must be respected. Individual freedom everyone should have. Put it concretely: no one has the right to make a boy learn Latin, because learning is a matter for individual choice, but if in a Latin class a boy insists on fooling all the time the class should throw him out, because he is interfering with the freedom of others.

As for self discipline, that is an indefinite thing. Too often it means a discipline of self that has been instilled by the moral ideas of adults. True self discipline is one that considers the rights and happiness of others.

Can a child be spoilt through too much love?

No, not if it is creative love. The spoiled child is one who receives too much possessive love, very often in the form of possessions, luxurious toys and too much money. But then parents often compensate for their lack of love by showering gifts on their children. I find that the most unloved children get the most expensive presents.

Why should a boy of sixteen be self-conscious in the presence of his friends and avoid their company?

Most likely a guilt about masturbation. He may fear that the others will see by his face that he indulges. Many children have this idea, needless to say an erroneous one. I have studied children for many years and I cannot tell by a child's face whether he masturbates or not.

Should one ever be sarcastic with children? Do you think this would help to develop a sense of humor in a child?

No. Sarcasm and humor have no connection with each other. Humor is an

affair of love, sarcasm of hate. To be sarcastic with a child is to make the child feel inferior and degraded. Only a cheap and nasty teacher will ever be sarcastic.

What do you do with a child who won't eat?

I don't know. We have never had one. If we had I should at once suspect a defiant attitude to its parents. We have had one or two who were sent to us because they wouldn't eat, but we never saw any symptoms of fasting in the school. In a difficult case I should consider the possibility of the child's having remained emotionally at the breast stage, and would try a feeding bottle with milk. I should also suspect that the parents had been faddy about food, giving the child food that it did not want.

Do you approve of gifts to show one's love?

No. Love doesn't need outward tokens. But children should have gifts at the usual times, birthdays, Christmas and so on. Only no gratitude should be looked for or demanded.

What can be done to cure untidiness?

But why cure it? Most creative people are untidy. It is usually a dull man whose room and desk are models of neatness. I find that children up to nine are in the main tidy; between nine and fifteen they are untidy. They simply do not see untidiness. Later on they become as tidy as need be.

You say that the children in Summerhill have clean minds. What do you mean?

A clean mind is one that cannot be shocked. To be shocked is to show that you have repressions that make you interested in what shocks you. Victorian old women were shocked at the word "leg" because they had an abnormal interest in things leggy. Leggy things were sexual things, repressed things. So that in an atmosphere

like Summerhill where there is no taboo about sex and no connecting of sex with sin, you find that children have no need to make sex unclean by whispering and leering. They are sincere about sex just as they are sincere about everything else.

What would you do to a child who won't stick to anything? He is interested in music for a short period, then he changes to dancing, and so on.

I'd do nothing. Such is life. In my time I have changed from photography to bookbinding, then to woodwork, then to brasswork. Life is full of fragments of interests. A child is always eclectic in his tastes. He tries all things: that's how he learns. Our boys spend days making boats, but if an aviator happens to visit us a boy will leave a half-made boat and begin to make an aeroplane. We never suggest that a child should finish his work, because if his interest has gone it is wrong to force him to finish it.

Our boy is twelve. He won't wash before coming to table. What should we do?

Well, I am not the man to advise, for I seldom wash before coming to table myself, only when I have been in my workshop or gardening. But why do you attach so much importance to washing? Have you considered that washing may be a symbol to you? Are you sure that your concern about his being clean is not covering your fear that he is unclean morally? Don't worry about the boy; take my word for it that your dirt complex is a subjective personal one. If you feel unclean you will attach an exaggerated importance to cleanliness. If you must have him appear at table clean, I mean if Aunt Mary sits at table with you and there is a prospect of her leaving her clean nephew a fortune, well the best way is to forbid him to wash.

Should parents show any affection for

each other in the presence of their children?

Why not? Only they should never have children sleeping in the same room as themselves. Overhearing or over-seeing sexual intercourse gives a child terrors. The child does not understand, and too often he thinks that father is hurting mother. I have seen some nasty phobias arising from the overhearing of intercourse.

Now do you seriously believe that the corrective in breaking bad habits is to let children continue their vices?

Vices? In whose opinion are they vices? Bad habits? You mean masturbation possibly. By breaking a habit forcibly you do not cure it. The only cure for any habit is to outlive its interest. Children who are allowed to masturbate indulge much less than children who have been forbidden to masturbate. Beating always prolongs trouser-messing. Tying up the hands makes an infant a perverted masturbator for life. Bad habits are not bad habits at all. They are the results of parental ignorance and hate. Summerhill children have no bad habits.

My daughter of twelve likes to read smutty books. What shall I do about it?

I should provide her with all the smutty books I could afford to buy. Then she would live out her interest. But why is she so interested in smut? Is she looking for the truth that you never gave her about sex? Something must have been lacking in her sexual education. My girl pupils can read anything they like. I have Kraft-Ebbing on my shelves, but they never want to read him.

What about your children's manners? Do they eat peas with their knives?

I haven't the least idea. I wouldn't notice if they did. Eating peas with a knife is a small matter of a breach of etiquette. My pupils have such good manners that if they

saw one eat peas with his knife they would make no remark.

What should I do with my child of six who draws obscene pictures?

Encourage him of course, but at the same time clean your house, for any obscenity in the home must come from you. A child of six has no obscenity. You see obscenity in his drawings because you have an obscene attitude to life. I can only imagine that the obscene drawings deal with chamber pots and sexual organs. Treat these things naturally without any idea of right and wrong and your child will pass through this interest just as he will pass through other interests.

There seems to have been a tacit implication in the speaker's attack on the theory of original sin, that hate is something foreign to human nature. Is hate not part of our instinctive make-up? Can't we admit hate without repressing it, and direct it to such things as exploitation?

The end of the question suggests an

amiable cynic. Freud holds that hate comes first, that love is a later development. I cannot follow the argument. I have never seen any signs of hate in a new-born infant. My belief in original virtue arises from my observation of children who hate. When they are loved they drop their hate. It is true that small children bicker with each other in their endeavors to find power. But the bickering is only a serious affair when the children are being made to hate themselves by being moralized to by adults. The bickering is not hate. Hate is love transformed, rather, it is thwarted love. It is not the opposite of love, for the opposite of love is obviously indifference. Thus small children are much more likely to quarrel with their brothers and sisters than with outside children, for in the home there is an emotional atmosphere which is allied to love. Hate in a child arises when he finds that he is not getting enough love from his parents. I have seen many a young hater come to Summerhill biting and scratching, but in six months our haters become social lovable characters.

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